











*His Highness Oliver Lord
Protector of the Common Wealth
of England, Scotland, & Ireland etc.*

2 The Perfect
POLITICIAN:
Or,
A FULL
VIEW
Of the
LIFE and ACTIONS
(Military and Civil)
OF
O. CROMWEL.

Whereunto is added
His CHARACTER;
AND
A Compleat CATALOGUE
of all the Honours conferr'd by him
on several PERSONS.

Qui nescit Dissimulare, nescit Regnare.

L O N D O N:
Printed by J. Cottrel, for William Roybould at the Uni-
corn, and Henry Fletcher at the three Gilt Cups
in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1660.



To the P E O P L E of
England.

My dear Country-men,



The ensuing History
properly belongeth to
you, in a double re-
spect: First, Because
it was your Blood and Trea-
sure that raised the subject of
this Discourse to Supremacie.
Then, Secondly, your Backs bore
the Burthen of his Greatness;
therefore it's fit that once again

To the Reader.

you look back and view with a full aspect, this Gentleman, General, Politician, and Protector. To limn him to the Life in all these Colours, is too much for one Pencil; therefore I only present you the Epitome of great Cromwells Actions, from his home near Huntingdon, to his Tomb in Westminster. The work is not unlike Homers Iliads in a nut-shell, yet may it serve for a Memento of our ever-to-be-lamented unnatural divisions.

The main scope of this Discourse, is a continued series of Tragical Scenes, with Comical Interludes lately acted in England,

To the Reader.

land, Ireland, and Scotland: herein I endeavor to keep pace with Truth, so near as possibly it may be traced. My aim is Moderation, as the surest way to hit Affection; therefore have I chosen it before partiality or egregious Encomiums, which do not become an Historian: for Flattery is meer folly; no better (I am sure) can it seem to the sight of a wise man, who knows that Panegyrics must profit the maker, or else the same Quill will again drop Gall in a Satyrical strain upon his reputation.

My Endeavors herein (I doubt not) will render some profit to the

To the Reader.

the Reader; though much pleasure cannot be expected, when the Theme is nothing else but boxing about of Governments, as men do Balls in a Tennis-Court.

Countrey-men, Read over this small Manual, and then consider how finely you have fought yourselves into **LIBERTY**. Vale.

I. S.

Reader,

Correct these few material *erratas* following, which accidentally have escaped the Press; and if any literal happen to cross thy way, let thy pen rectifie the mistake.

Page line.

73. 5. for hand read hands.

269. 28. for 1654. read 1659.

The



THE LIFE and DEATH OF His late Highness OLIVER Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland & Ireland.

His actions in the wars of England.



It is very well known, that he was of an honourable Extraction, and had suitable Education. He was born at *Huntingdon*, and bred up in the famous University of *Cambridge*; where whilst he

B

was

was a Student, there wanted not some Pre-
sages of his future Greatness : neither
was he then so much addicted to Specula-
tion, as to Action, as was observed by his
Tutor. After a good Proficiencie in the
University, he came to *London*, where he
betook himself to the study of the Law
in *Lincolns-Inne*; that nothing might be
wanting to make him a complete Gentle-
man, and a good Commonwealths-man.

His Country was not unsensible of his
great Endowments: for when the neces-
sities of those times, compelled the late
King to call that Parliament, in the year
1640, (truly surnamed *The long*) he was
elected by them to serve as a Member
therein. And now God being displeased
with *England*, for the abuse of a long-con-
tinued Peace, and the blessings thereof
and determining to punish the inhabi-
tants thereof for the same, he sent an evil
spirit of Division betwixt the King and
that Parliament; They complaining of
his evil Counsel, and He of their Jealous-
ies and Fears: which Division being in-
dustriously fomented by Incendiaries, soon
brake forth into the flame of open Hostil-
ty, both parties pretending one and the same

same Cause of Quarrel. But to that which
is chiefly intended.

No sooner had the Drum and Trumpet
summoned the Nation to Arms, but *Crom-
wel* was alarmed, who (*tam Marte quàm
Mercurio*) neglecting the softness of a
Sedentary, betook himself to a Martial
employment, and immediately raised a
Troop of Horse for the Parliament among
his neighbours, at his own charge. The
University of *Cambridge* being not far off
him, and the place of his Education, he
had a special regard thereto; and knowing
that Universities (of all places) might be
most addicted to the Kings interest, esteem-
ing Parliaments (and this especially) the
greatest depressers of Ecclesiastical Digni-
ty, in hope of which they are there nurtu-
red; to put the matter out of doubt, he
secured it for the Parliament; and that in
the nick of time, when a large quantity of
the University-Plate was about to be con-
veyed to the King then at *Oxford*. And
so industrious was he in the Cause he had
now newly undertaken, that hearing Sir
Thomas Connesby (high-Sheriff of *Hert-
ford-shire*) was at the Town of *St. Albans*
on a Market-day, there to proclaim the
Par-

Parliament and their General the Earl of *Essex* Traytors, (according to the Kings Proclamation to that purpose) he unexpectedly rusheth into the Town, takes the Sheriff, and sends him up to the Parliament.

Being thus blest with a Troop, he augments his Strength, making it up a thousand Horse; whose Riders being stout and valiant, he took a course to preserve, by Arming them *cap-a-pe*, after the manne of the German *Crabats*: whence in those days he was commonly stiled *Iron-sides*. Being thus re-inforced, he marcheth into the County of *Suffolk*; and having intelligence that above forty Commanders Knights and Gentlemen, were at *Lowers toft*, contriving an Association of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the King, he with such secrecy and celerity enters the Town, that he surpriseth them all.

Having settled the affairs of the Associated Counties firmly for the Parliament, he marcheth towards *Newark*, and block up that Garison; and finding a party of the *Newarkers* neer *Grantham*, he fought them; in which Encounter, though he wanted of equality in number, yet he

far out-went his enemy in courage and resolution, that he put them to flight, himself giving the first Onset.

About *Newark* he spent not much time, but advanceth with the Earl of *Manchester* for the re-inforcement of the Siege of *York*; which was then beleaguered by the Scottish General *Lesley*, assisted by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and a conjunction of other Forces in the North. *Cromwel* had not been long there, but Prince *Rupert* approacheth with a great Army, to raise the Siege: Upon certain intelligence whereof, the Generals draw off the Siege, to fight him; well knowing, that if they won the day, that City would follow as an Appendix to the Victory. The Princes Scouts informing him that the Siege was raised, he sent a party of Horse to face *Lesly* on *Hessam-Moor*, and in the mean time enters *York* with two thousand Horse, carrying with him all things needful for the relief of the Garison: which having done, he seemingly made toward *Tadcaster*, but soon returned again into *Marston-Moor*, and there draws up his Army in Battalia, to the best advantage the ground would permit. *Lesley* was in the mean time

marching with his Army toward *Tadcaster* after the Prince: but hearing what he had done, he wheels about to give him Battle. The Prince having possessed himself of all the advantages that might be, keeps his ground. The Generals, *Lesley*, *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, having drawn up their Army in as good form as the time would permit, placing most of *Lesleys* and *Fairfax* his Horse in the Right Wing; *Manchester's* with other of the Scotch Horse made the Left, commanded by *Cromwell* (who had that Charge committed to him for the day:) the Foot made up the Main Body. Both Armies standing in this posture, Prince *Rupert's* Left Wing making the first Charge, dissipates the Parliament Right; prosecuting their Charge with such fury and vigour, that in a trice destruction was everywhere seen. *Cromwell* in the Left wing (not knowing what had befallen the Right) courageously charges *Rupert's* Right wing; which soon turned the scale, before inclining toward the Prince the advantage he got here, by his wise improvement thereof, soon redounded to the whole Army: for although many for fear disbanded themselves and fled; yet the

rest, as many as could be got together, being led on by the Noble Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, (the last of whom received in his face that day a Mark of Honour) joyning with victorious *Cromwell*, made the day clearly theirs. This Fight was the most bloody of any in all the Civil wars, wherein was great slaughter on both sides, judged by spectators to be little less than ten thousand men. Prince *Rupert* and his helpers being thus discomfited, they fall out, and lay the blame of the miscarriage one upon the other; the Earl of *Newcastle* and others of quality leaving the Kingdom thereupon. This impediment being removed, the Siege of *York* was renewed: which City (though governed by valiant *Glemham*) being hopeless of new succours, was soon yeilded.

Many other examples of *Cromwell's* great Atchievements both North and west might be given, even whilst he was in a lower capacite: but studying brevity, we shall pass over many things, and come to speak of him as under the New Establishment, in which he received a greater Command.

The Parliament seeing the war to be

tedious; and finding, that notwithstanding the daily great effusion of blood, and vast expence of treasure, small progress was made in the Kingdoms resettlement, they resolve on a new course, by new-modeling the old Army; and to prevent the just offence of any of their Members who might be displaced thereby, they pass an Ordinance, (commonly called *The self-denying Ordinance*) that no Member of Parliament should serve in the Army, but wholly attend the service of the House, unless they had the Houses license for so doing. They recruit the Army (which had been much wasted by Sickness, and a late defeat in the West) to One and twenty thousand viz. Fourteen thousand Foot, Six thousand Horse, and One thousand Dragoons; commissioning Sir *Thomas Fairfax* their General.

Cromwel being then in the West, and receiving intelligence of the new Establishment, and of the self-denying Ordinance, though he were a great and victorious Commander, yet he had not forgotten to obey; but immediately disposing of those under his Command, he posts toward *London*, to attend his service in Parlia-

ment, according to their late Ordinance aforesaid; and understanding that the General was then at *Windsor*, he took that in his way, and went to kiss his Excellencies hand, and take leave of him. But the Parliament being sufficiently sensible of his worth, and how excellent an instrument he might be in carrying on the War, they would not suffer him to desert his Military employment; and the next morning before he came forth of his chamber, a Commission was sent him by the Committee of both Kingdoms, whereby he was made Lieutenant-General of Horse to the whole Army.

Upon this new Establishment, the Kings party were very much heightned, thinking it an easie matter now to subdue the Parliaments Army, being thus chopt and changed, and many eminent Commanders laid aside and discontented. But they found the contrary: for as a fractur'd bone well set, becomes the stronger; so this broken Army, being skilfully handled, became so well knit, that it was thereby rendred far more vigorous and effective. But to proceed.

Cromwel having accepted of this new Com-

Command, he immediately applies himself to action. For the Kings main Mid-land Forces under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, lying then about *Worcester* and the borders of *Wales*, intending to take the Field; they sent a Convoy of two thousand Horse to *Oxford*, to fetch off the King, with the Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army. *Fairfax* having intelligence hereof, sent *Cromwell* with a party of Horse and Dragoons to impede their passage. No sooner was order given, but he was at the work: for with incredible swiftness marching to seek his enemy, he found them at *Islip*-Bridge, and there encountred them, and that with much gallantry, that he took 500 Horse and 200 Prisoners, among whom were many persons of quality: here he took also (besides many other Trophies of Honour) the Queens Standard. And knowing it to little purpose to gain a Victory, and not to prosecute it, he therefore pursued the remnant that escaped to *Blechingdon*-House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garison for the King: he summons the place, requiring a speedy rendition; giving its Governour to understand, that

other

otherwise they must expect the effects of the fury of an enraged Souldiery. The Governour being terrified by the late defeat, (it seems) despairing of relief from *Oxford*, and doubting his own strength, delivers up the House, with all the Arms and Ammunition therein; (marching to *Oxford*, where he was shot to death for his pains.) So that here were two Victories; the well improvement of the first, procuring the second.

But letting pass many of his more considerable actions, (if any of his in this kinde may be so termed) we proceed to give an account of his carriage in that remarkable and fatal Battel of *Naseby*; one-ly mentioning that feat at *Bampton*-Bush, where he took Sir *William Vaughan*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Littleton*, with divers other Officers, and 200 common souldiers.

This Battel of *Naseby*, brings to minde the saying of that learned man, *Hugo Grotius*, viz. *When people fight for their liberties, the Princes Crown lies at stake*: which was verified upon the King in the effects thereof: for the scale of his affairs was thereby so turned, that in short time after, he both lost his Crown, and became subject

to

to the will of his enemy ; being never
 ter favour'd with one successful attempt
 This Battel was fought on the 14 day
 June, 1645. near *Naseby*. The Kings
 my lying in and about *Harborough*, where
 Prince *Rupert's* Head-quarters were, they
 had resolved the night before, to fight
Fairfax, knowing themselves to be much
 stronger then he, especially in Horse. The
 were not more forward to engage, than
 the other were willing : and thus being
 both agreed in the extremity of Disagree-
 ment, they both draw into a large field
 the Town side, about a mile and a quarter
 broad. This was the ample stage where
 that bloody Tragedie was acted : sad
 behold ! and so much the more sad, when
 we consider that it was English blood, shed
 by English hands : here Relations were
 forgotten, friendship relinquished ; yet
 he that perhaps but lately would have
 down his own, to preserve the life of
 friend, doth now use all possible industry
 to destroy it : and this upon no other
 ground, but the common Feud that was
 then risen. Behold the effects of a Civil
 War ! The Kings Front was made up
 a gallant Body of Horse ; the Foot made

second Body : the Right Wing was com-
 manded by the brother-Princes *Rupert*
 and *Maurice* ; the left, by Sir *Jacob Ash-
 ley* : other Commanders of great quality,
 and long experience in Martial affairs be-
 yond the Seas, taking their places in the
 field. Thus being drawn out, with Re-
 serves to second the main Body, they took
 up the whole breadth of the field. The
 Parliaments Foot made a firm Body in the
 midst, commanded by Major-General
Skippon, (whose actions that day deserve
 an honourable mention) winged with
 Horse on either side : the Right Wing
 was commanded by the valiant *Cromwell*,
 who (to the great joy of the whole Army)
 came in to their assistance the night be-
 fore, out of the Associated Counties, with
 600 Horse and Dragoons ; the Left was
 commanded by *Ireton*. *Rupert* gave the
 first Charge, which he did with such vio-
 lence upon *Ireton* in the Parliaments Left
 Wing, that (notwithstanding their strenu-
 ous resistance) he was routed, and his men
 put to flight, the Prince pursuing them
 thorow the Town : but having more minde
 to the spoil, then to the thorow-perform-
 ance of his work, he leaves the pursuit,
 and

and assaults the Waggon; where being repulsed, he trifled out so much time, that *Cromwel* in the Right wing, assisted by *Colonel Rossiter*, had in the mean time quite disordered the Kings Left wing, and were raked the field before him; separating the Horse from the Foot, and thereby rendering them helpless one to the other. Being reduced to this exigent, the Horse fled toward *Leicester*; in pursuit of whom *Cromwel* (considering that though there had been a Rout, there might be a Rally, and not onely to prevent after-claps, but also to secure what was already won) sent some few Troops, knowing that small force might do great execution on a flying enemy: Himself in the interim joyning with their own Foot, so encompassed the Kings Infantry, that (notwithstanding they shewed much gallantry and valor that day, even to the admiration of their enemies) being tired out, and despairing of succour, beholding nothing but death and destruction which way soever they looked, they threw down their Arms, and submitted to mercy.

The Kings loss hereby will appear to be

greater, if we consider it in these two respects:

1. He lost a gallant Army, which was newly flush'd and heightned in their courage, by the late good success they had in the storming of *Leicester*; presently after which, the King writ thus to the Queen: *That without being sanguine, he could report his actions to stand in a better condition then at any time since the War began.*

2. Not onely was an Army lost, but all possibility of raising another; so vigorously did the Victors husband and prosecute what they had begun and gotten.

No sooner had the Parliaments Army broken down this bank, but like a Torrent they soon overflowed the whole Kingdom, bearing down and subduing all opposers. *Leicester* was immediately regained; from thence they haste to the relief of *Taunton*, which had been long besieged by *Goring's* Army, and held out to admiration. Upon their approach, *Goring* draws off: they follow him, and overtake him near *Lambport*, where they engage him: and here *Cromwel* shewed much prudence, as well as courage: for the Enemy being put to flight,

flight, he would not suffer part of Horse to pursue, but caused them to bear till they were all come up together and then himself led them on, doing work so effectually, that he took almost their Foot and Ordnance. Thence they stept to *Bridgewater*; a very considerable place, which (though obstinately defended) was soon taken by storm.

In those days there was a sort of people called *Club-men*, who pretending Neutrality, would admit of no Armies within their Bounds: and so confident were they as to capitulate with the General, as they intended to cudgel him out of the Country, notwithstanding his late great successes; thinking to keep their Clubs in their hands, when so many gallant men had been forced to part with their swords. But *Cromwel* (not knowing what might be the issue of such tumultuous assembling) resolves to curb them betimes, and to crush them in the egge: to which purpose, having notice of their Rendezvous, he marcheth toward them with a party of Horse. They were four thousand strong, and had encamped themselves on the top of a hill

promising much resolution in one of their Ensignes, which had this Motto:

*If ye offer to plunder, or take our cattel,
Be you assur'd we'll give you battel.*

But this vapour soon vanished: for *Cromwel* giving but one Charge up the hill, routed and dispersed them all, taking 400 prisoners, whom he carried to *Sherborn*; that Castle (governed by Sir *Lewes Dives* for the King) being then beleaguered by *Fairfax*, and soon after reduced by storm.

Hence the Army marcheth toward *Bristol*, a place of very great importance, lying on the confines of *Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset* and *Somerset-shires*. Prince *Rupert* was in it, with about four or five thousand Horse and Foot; who being too much addicted to Plunder, made the circumjacent Country desire to be rid of such injurious neighbours. At the Armies first arrival, it was advised by *Cromwel* and some other chief Officers, that they should storm part of the City: which accordingly was put in practice so effectually, that Prince *Rupert* durst not run the hazard of a second assault, but immediately delivers up that

that great and well-fortified City, having liberty to march to *Oxford*.

This great service being thus performed *Cromwel* (without the least delay or intermission) taking with him a Brigad consisting of four Regiments, hastes to the reduction of that strong Castle of the *Dvizes*, whose natural strength was much increased by the ingenuity of its Governour *Sir Charles Lloyd*; who being sensible thereof, and confident therein, returned no other Answer to the first Summons, but *Win it, and wear it*. But as if neither Art or Nature could sufficiently fence a place against the Stratagems and Assaults of the invincible Conquerour, (whose very name began now to be terrible to the stoutest adversary) he soon brought the Governour to terms, and compelled him to yeeld upon Composition.

Winchester was soon reduced to the same pass, after the Governours stomach had been a little brought down, by the Battery of great Guns and Mortar-pieces. Here valiant *Cromwel* (as always) being punctual in the observation of Articles, and being informed that some of his Soldiers had been faulty therein; no sooner

was the complaint made, but the redress was provided: for, hanging up one to the terrour of others, he sent the rest of the offenders to *Oxford*, to be there punished at the discretion of the Governour *Sir Thomas Glemham*; who returned them to him again, with an acknowledgement of his great Nobleness, in being so punctual with his enemy. His tenderness in this respect, had great influence on others that had a disposition to yeeld.

But now we come to *Basing-house* in *Hants*, a place that knew not what it was to yeeld. It was the Mansion of the Marquess of *Winchester*, standing on a rising ground; encompassed with a Brick Rampart, and that lined with earth; a deep dry ditch environing all. The House being situate and built as if for Royalty, had this Motto, *Ayez Loyalte*. Here the Marquess stands upon his Guard, assisted onely at first with his own family, and an hundred Musquetiers from *Oxford*; but was recruited afterwards by the King from time to time, as occasion served. This Garison had been several times assaulted, but to little purpose; first, by Colonel *Norton* and Colonel *Harvey*; next,

by Sir *William Waller*, with seven thousand Horse and Foot; who (although he was by many in those days surnamed *The Conqueror*) did little more then heighten the courage of the besieged, who made frequent desperate Sallies upon him. Thus out-braving all Assailants for some years the place began to be esteemed impregnable: but *Crommel* soon evinced the contrary: for having seen Sir *Will. Ogle* late Governour of *Winchester* march according to Articles, and settled the affairs of that Garrison for the Parliament he the next day marches for *Basing*; where he no sooner comes, but he falls to work in good earnest; placing a strong Battery against it, that soon made it assailable; which perceiving, (for he had an excellent faculty in discerning advantages) he orders the several Posts to prepare for a Storm. And although the danger and difficulty of the work were greater even enough to take off the edge of an ordinary resolution, having to deal with a valiant an enemy, who had often manifested their high courage and great skill in withstanding several former Assailants yet he (accounting any designe the more

honourable, by how much the more difficult to accomplish) gives the Onset, and that to so good purpose, that the besieged saw themselves in no capacity to withstand him.

Thus was *Basing* subdued: a service so much the more acceptable, by how much the more good redounded to the Country (even to the whole Nation) thereby, in opening a way for Commerce and Correspondence betwixt the West of *England* and other parts, which before had been so long obstructed by this Garrison.

Langford-House neer *Salisbury* was visited next by *Crommel*: but they within having head what he had done at *Basing*, despairing of any better success then that Garrison, yeelded at the first Summons.

From hence he marches towards the main Body of the Army, who were then upon a march towards *Exeter*, to block up that place. But that designe being for the present waved, they suddenly fall upon *Dartmouth*, and take it. Which being done, they encounter the Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, where he was defeated, and upon pursuit, received (as he was formerly assistant in giving) a Cornish Hug, and there-

thereupon enforced to disband. When
upon followed the rendition of *Exeter*.

There remained onely now in the *W*
Pendennis Castle, which being blockt
by Col. *Fortescue*, was soon yeelded.

Thus *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* having th
rowly scowred the West, and onely *New*
remaining in the North, the hopes of t
King and his party were very low; n
not quite dead; for they had still a Par
commanded by that gallant old Sould
Sir *Jacob Ashley*: but these hopes so
vanish: for he being encountred by C
Morgan neer *Stow* on the *Wolds*, w
utterly overthrown, himself and 1600
coming prisoners to the Victors.

And now that black cloud which had
impetuously shewred upon other place
began to gather about *Oxford* it self,
Kings Head-quarters, and place of
residence; it being already blocked up
Fleetwood and *Ireton*, and every day in
pectation of a close Siege. Here *Art*
self had contributed her utmost assistance
to make the place impregnable; it bein
encompassed with regular Fortifications
furnished with a strong Garison of so
souldiers, stored with abundance of
kin

kinde of provisions, and (which is more
then all the rest) governed by one that
had given sufficient proof of his valour
and faithfulness formerly, in holding out
two other Garisons (*Carlisle* and *York*)
to the utmost extremity. But all this a-
vails not, *Oxford* must yeeld. And the
unfortunate King, who had for some time
past received no other News, but (*Job*-
like) one messenger of ill tidings at the
heels of another, having no Field-Army
left, nor scarce a Garison to flee to, began
now to consider the danger of his person,
and to cast about which way to secure him-
self; and at last resolves to personate a
Serving-man, and by the Conduct of *Ash-*
burnham to escape to the Scottish Army be-
fore *Newark*. The Parliament receiving
intelligence of his being there, they de-
mand the King: the Scots refuse to deliver
him; whereupon grew a great Contest
betwixt the two Nations, concerning their
propriety in the person of the King. But
the Scots calling to minde, that 200000 *l*.
was behinde of what the Parliament had
formerly hired them for, thought they had
now an opportunity to hedge it in, and
therefore (like the Ape that made use of

the Cats foot to take the Apple out of fire) they vvave further dispute, and vving gotten their money, deliver up King.

Being in the hands of the English, he conveyed to *Holmby-House* in *Northamptonshire*, a Princely Mansion; where he shall leave him at present, and come speak briefly of some transactions in Parliament, City and Army.

Wars are not onely carried on Swords and Guns, but Tongues and Pens are co-instrumental; which as they have been too much employed formerly, were not idle now. The distinguishing terms of approbry formerly used, viz. Cavalier and Roundhead, were now transmuted unto those of Presbyterian and Independent, who at this time clash with a hot hand. The Presbyterians endeavour to carry on the interest of the Covenant, but they are not herein countenanced by the Army, who shew their dislike thereof, by the impeachment of eleven Members of Parliament, (*Hollis, Stapleton, Waller, Massey, &c.*) vvho are its abettors; they thereupon making a voluntary secession.

Great disputes also arose in the two Houses at this time concerning the King; some pleading his coming to *London*, with freedom, safety and honour, to treat with his Parliament; others urged that no more Addresses might be made to him. The City closeth with that party in the Parliament which was for the Kings return; and were so hot upon it, that in a tumultuous vvay they vvould needs compel them to alter their Militia, and bring home the King. The contrary Party in the House seeing violence offered them, they vvith the Speaker betake themselves to the protection of the Army; vvho being thus countenanced by Authority, and thereby encouraged, resolve upon a March for *London*, to restore the Members of Parliament to their places and Authorities. Upon the Armies approach, the Citizens (vvho before had made some semblance of resistance, raising Forces to that purpose under *Massey*) desire a Truce: which vvvas granted, upon these Conditions.

1. That they should desert the Parliament then sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.

2. That

2. That they should recal their Declaration.

3. That they should relinquish the present Militia.

4. That they should deliver up the Forts, together with the Tower.

5. That they should disband the Forces.

Which things being performed, the Army made a triumphant passage through the City of *London*.

To return again to the King: we find him not to continue long at *Holmby*, Cornet *Joyce* with a Party of Horse set upon his Person, and carries him away to the Head-quarters. The Army having him now in their custody, remove him from one place to another; as to *Roxton*, *Holfeld*, *Causam*, an House of the Lord *Cavens*, (one that hath had a deep share in the sufferings of the Nobility:) here the Kings Children came to him, where they dined together. But here he continued not long neither, before his removal to *Hampton Court*, where being terrified with an Apparition of Agitators, he left that place, and unfortunately renders himself to Col. *Hamond* in the Isle of *Wight* where

where he was secured in *Carisbrook* Castle. Propositions are sent to him from the Parliament, but with little effect. Provoked herewith, the Houses pass their Votes of Non-addresses to his Majesty, and take the Government upon themselves; which was followed with a Declaration from the Army to stand in defence of those Votes.

These Actions so far discontented the people, that in every place nothing could be heard but bad wishes, and worse threats: from whence many did prognosticate, the ensuing Summer would be a hot one in respect of Wars. And now the Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against the King, begin to look upon his Estate and condition with commiseration, blaming themselves for being instruments in bringing him into the condition he then was: and now they petition the Parliament (after the same manner that some years before they had the King) in a tumultuous manner; and impatient to have the grant of their desires delayed, they press the Houses for a speedy redress of their present Grievances; but could have no other

ther answer, but vvhhat vvas delivered
the Souldiers guarding the Parliament
and a Troop of Horse from the Me
these dissuaded the *Surry-men* vvith
ling arguments from coming there
more.

These things made those that be
seemed passive, to be active: the
cloud of VVar (blown by the fury of
people) had now over-spread our He
sphere; vvvhich Alarms the Army in
their Quarters. First, a considerable
of the Navy, vvith Captain *Batten*, so
times Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *W*
wick, desert the Parliament, and
themselves under the power of *Pr*
Charles: Next, the *Kentish-men* rise
Arms, under pretence of Petitionin
Laughorn, *Poyer* and *Powel*, seised on
strong Towns and Castles in *South-W*
and declared against them. Yet this vv
not all; there blew a Northern blast,
made many men shake: Duke *Ham*
(a man vvho had received much of
King, but deserved little) rusheth in vv
an Army of Scots, and joynes himself
Langdale, *Glemham*, and others of
Kings Party in the North.

Upon these Risings, the Parliament
considers how to conjure these evil spi
its down againe: the Valour of their
souldiers had been tried in many Fights
and Sieges before; their former good suc
cesses made them confident that Victory
was settled in their Scabbards, and that
they shoud no sooner draw their Swords,
but their enemies would fly. To manage
these Wars, *Fairfax* was sent into *Kent*,
Lambert into the North, there to stop (as
much as could be) the over-flowing Tor
rent of *Hamiltons* Army, who wasted the
Country at pleasure, wheresoever they
came: for *Wales*, victorious *Crommel* was
designed: before him (as forlorn) marches
Col. *Horton* with 3000, who engaged
Laughorns 8000 raw Welchmen, and rou
ted them: *Crommel* himself soon follows
after, with two Regiments of Horse, and
three of Foot. Now we see him in the
Field again, to accomplish great underta
kings; which he did with so much facility,
that it rather seemed a Recreation then la
bour. *Cesar's Veni, Vidi, Vici*, may well
be attributed to him, who no sooner came
neer an Enemy and beheld him, but he o
vercame him: and indeed, his quick
Marches,

Marches, furious Onsets, and victo-
 Conquests, came very neer *Casars* had in the Town and Castle; so that of
 chievements. The first place we necessity they must yeeld: their bodies
 him at in his march, was *Chepstow*-being weakned for want of sustenance,
 which he resolved to besiege; but he would bring down their stout Stomacks.
 hastning to *Pembroke*, he leaves Col. Then, Divissions among themselves, which
 to dispatch this piece of service, wh grew to that height at last, that the Soul-
 accomplished it in fifteen days. *Cromwell* ers began to mutiny against their Com-
 the twentieth of *May* comes to *Pemb* manders. And lastly, (though he had
Poyer being Governour of it; wh Men enough to enforce them, yet) confi-
 lying much upon the strength of the dering this was not the last service his
 refuseth all Conditions that are pro Forces must go upon, he would not be too
 to him. *Cromwel* not being accustomed prodigal of pretious blood; knowing that
 despair of any thing that is possible, a Victory to be the cheapest, which is won
 himself to the Siege at Land; Sir *G* without blows.

Ayscough in the mean time with a Having thus considered of the matter,
 dren of Ships, cast Anchor in the he causes strict guard to be kept in his
 to forbid any succours to be kept in Trenches, that so they might be kept in
 Sea; and, as occasion served, to fur from running away. This order was not
 the Leaguer with great Guns and long observed, before Hunger had so bat-
 provisions necessary. tered down their Bellies, and therewith

Cromwel having taken a full view of so quell'd their courage, that they desired
 Castle, and considering the strength a Parly, and willingly yeelded up the Town
 makes his way by approaches; and and Castle upon quarter, as to the com-
 his great Guns, summons them to mon Souldiery; but *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and
 This course he thought the safest, *Powel*, with some other of the prime
 these considerations: First, for that Commanders, render themselves prisoners
 certain intelligence he was informed at mercy; which some of them found, but

others

others were afterwards made examples. No sooner was this considerable Army reduced to obedience, but *Cromwell* immediately marcheth Northwards with speed possible, to disperse that black Cloud which threatned to send a Scotch Mist into those parts of *England*: Being at *Chester*, he acquaints the Parliament with the necessities of the Army: which no sooner done, but immediately supplies were sent, to the great encouragement of the Souldiery. *Cromwell* having joined with *Lambert*, who then attended *Harletons* Motions, and retarded his March, their united Forces made an Army of 8600 strong; too weak (in outward appearance) to grapple with 21000, but considering the courage and resolution of the Souldiers, they were sufficient to do the business, as it proved at *Cromwell* finding an opportunity to correct the Scotch for their insolent rapine, resolves to do it, and drive them home, die in the attempt. At *Preston* in *Lancashire*, his forlorn, consisting of 200 Horse and 400 Foot, first engaged; after which *Cromwell* himself brought up the main Battle in as good a posture as the Gro-

would bear, (which being inclosure and mirie Ground, was inconvenient for Horse) he fought them through a dirty Lane, and forc'd them to seek shelter in the Hedges near at hand: which proved but a poor defence against the rage of *Cromwells* men. After four hours dispute, they were driven into *Preston* with the victorious Souldiers at their heels, who presently cleared the streets. The Duke finding the place too hot for his cold Constitution, retreats over the Bridge with as many Horse and Foot as could follow him: but his shirking away would not serve the turn; they must first give an account of their business, before the pass could be granted, which at last they had signed, sealed and delivered. At the Bridge was the greatest piece of service, where extraordinary courage was shewn on both sides; but especially *Cromwell* and his Men, imitating the Discipline of the ancient English, with Swords in hand rushed into the thickest of their Enemies: pelting them to death at a distance, they looked on rather as a signe of cowardise then courage: the Scotch not being well acquainted with that manner of Discipline, did not like this rough handling; and

and therefore betake themselves to their heels; accounting that the safest way was to save their lives: but this shift fail'd them, for *Cromwel* was as nimble in pursuit as he was resolute in fight. Lieutenant-General *Bayly* finding smart blows on his back, when he dared not turn his face, being driven into *Warrington Town*, there capitulates to deliver himself and four thousand with him prisoners at War: which was immediately done. We should here remember the Exploits of *Hamilton* himself, if he had done any; but more than a Duke, then a Duke, and General of an Army, he flees away to *Utttoxeter*; whether being pursued, he was there taken prisoner by Col. *Waite*, and about thirty Horse with him.

He being soon after brought to London, and not long after that, to a Tryal for his Invasion; this was one of his Pleas to his Charge, *That he was invited*. he found very sorry entertainment: after he had been thus shamefully beaten, he (with others) was adjudged to lose his head.

This great Battle was very considerable in many respects, as to the Victory it

2000 being slain on the several places, and near upon 10000 prisoners taken, one hundred Colours, with all their bag and baggage: then it conduced much to the carrying on the Parliaments Designs at that time; and withal, left no hope of relief for those stout hearts that so obstinately defended *Colchester*; whose designs, although they were against the times, yet 'twas an Honour for the Nation, that it could produce such Men.

Cromwel after this Victory, (being yet reeking hot with the slaughter of the Scots at *Preston*) posits away to acquaint *Monro* (who was then come into *England* as a reserve to the Duke with a considerable Force) what was become of *Hamilton* and his great Army, which was reputed so formidable, that it's very name terrified at a distance. *Monro* having notice of his coming, had learnt so much wit in *Germany*, whilst he was in great *Gustavus* his service, as to fight with none but them that were of his match; and knowing the English would be too hard for him, he withdraws back again into *Scotland*, where presently after he was disbanded.

Cromwel having thus rid the whole Nation

tion in general of a great fear, and especially the North in particular of that sad burden they groaned under by the Plunder and Oppression of the Scots Army, prosecuting his Victory to the utmost, entering into *Scotland* it self. In his vway he reduced *Barwick* and *Carlisle* to their former obedience, both being delivered on composition. Before his entrance into *Scotland* he drew the Army to a Rendezvouze on the Banks of *Tweede*, and caused Proclamation to be made at the head of every Regiment of Horse and Foot, that on the pain of death no Cattle nor Goods should be forc'd from the Scotch people by any of his Souldiers in their March, without an especial order; but that in all things they should demean themselves civilly in their March and Quarters, nor giving offence to any: such care had this great Captain to observe the same Discipline in *Scotland*, which before was established in *England*. So taking his way directly for *Edinburgh*, he was met by many of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry from the Committee of Estates, with congratulatory Orations in honour of his worthy Achievements; acknowledging that his presence would

would conduce much to the settlement of their distracted Kingdom. Being thus arrived at *Edinburgh*, he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and lodged in the Earl of *Murray's* House: to him resorted the Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom; the Earls of *Leven*, *Arguile*, *Cassil*; the Lords, *Burley*, *Wariston*, and *David Lesley*; with many other persons of honour, both of the Nobility and Gentry. The Lord Provost, with several eminent Citizens, came to welcome him thither, and present their service to him. When these Visits were over, he desired the Committee of Estates to seclude out of publick Office all that had any hand in, or did in the least promote *Hamiltons* late Invasion. To which the Committee consented; making this request withall, (being fearful of themselves, and doubting new stirs might arise after the departure of the English Army) that the General would leave some Forces with them, which might be ready to quell any Insurrections; promising, that when they had raised a Force sufficient for their own defence, then they would dismiss them, and return them again to their own Country.

This was yeelded unto; and Major General *Lambert*, an experienced Soldier with three Regiments of Horse, was pointed for the service.

Now things standing in this posture, the content of both parties, the Scots vited *Cromwel*, and the chief Officers of the Army, to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, whither they all went in Coaches, were highly treated at a Banquet prepared for them. At their departure, the Guns and small shot gave them many volleys for a farewell. Thus was he welcomed by the Scots: hereafter we shall see how he will welcome himself; for this is not the last time which he means to visit them: his next errand I fear will be less to their content.

Cromwel having now finished what came about, prepares to depart. On the 16, 1648. he leaves *Edinburgh*, being conducted some miles on his way by *guile*, and some other of the Scotch Nobility; at whose parting, great demonstrations of affection pass betwixt them.

Cromwel now bends his course directed to *Carlisle*, from thence marches Southwardly, to compel Col. *John Morrice*, and the

bold fellows, to yeeld, that held out *Pon-tefract* Castle. This place, though not very great, was very considerable as to the strength of it; but 'twas not the Fortification, nor Wall of Stones, but the Wall of Bones (as it were) that made it so famous at this time all the Kingdom over. The Garison consisted of about 400 Foot, and 130 Horse, bold desperate Fellows, as may be perceived by some of their Actions. One day there issued out of the Castle a party of Horse, who fetcht in Sir *Arthur Ingram* and made him pay 1500 *l.* for his Ransom, before he could get from them. Again, afterwards Captain *Clayton* and most of his Troop, was seized upon by them, and made prisoners: 200 head of Cattle, with many Horses, they fetch'd into the Castle, whilst Sir *Henry Cholmley* lay before it with his Forces to keep them in. But the boldest trick of all, was this: One morning before day there sallied out 40 Horse, who post away to *Doncaster*, where Col. *Rainsborough* then quartered, who had a Commission to command in chief before the Castle: when they were come near the Town, three of the party left their Fellows without, and confidently

marching in, enquired for Col. *Rainsborough's* quarters; which when they had notice of, they entered, pretending to deliver a Letter to him from Lieutenant General *Cromwel*: The Col. little dreaming that these were the Messengers of death, confidently opens his Chamber door to receive the Letter; but in the instant thereof, he received that fatal wound to his heart, that sent him to his grave. And although his Forces were about him and kept guard in the Town; yet these confident Fellows got back into the City in the middle of the day.

To curb these insolencies, *Cromwel* (immediately after he had settled the Northern Counties in peace and quietness) came to the Leaguer; and having ordered several Posts for a close Siege, so that no they could not range abroad, he left a strong party before it, commanded by *Lambert* (who was come thither out of Scotland.) Himself marches up to London and takes his place in the Parliament, who were sufficiently sensible of the large testimony he had given in Scotland, of his prudence in governing his Army whilst they were in that Kingdom, and with what civi-

civility both Officers and Souldiers behaved themselves, together with their care to avoid all causes of offence both in their Quarters and March. They thereupon order the hearty thanks of the House of Commons to be given to this worthy Captain; which was accordingly done by the Speaker, whilst he sat among them; he receiving it with great humility, (after his manner) not taking to himself the least of all those great things that were wrought by him, but attributing them wholly to GOD, who is the Giver of Victories.

Now the smooth countenance of Peace having once againe appeared over most part of the Nation, the Parliament takes into consideration the punishment of the chief abettors and promoters of the late War; and looking upon the King as a chief Instrument, they resolve to bring him to a speedy Tryal: in order whereunto, a Charge was drawn up against him, consisting of many Heads; chiefly, That he was the Promoter of the Rebellion in Ireland, The Contriver of the Wars in England: and what blood soever had been spilt in the Nation in the time of the Wars, was put to his Charge, as an Actor in

in and at many ingagements; with other Enormities and Crimes which said he was guilty of.

To cary on this work thus begun, a Court of Justice was erected, consisting of some Lords, many Members of the House of Commons, and Officers of the Army over whom was set Serjeant *Bradish* as President of the Court. All things being thus prepared, the King was conducted to St. James's from *Windsor* in a party of Horse, and afterward removed to Sir *Robert Cottons* House, in order to his Tryal, which lasted three days; at the end of which, he was condemned, and presently executed before his Palace of *Whitehall*, on Tuesday, January the 30, 1649.

Thus fell King *Charles*; a man indeed with singular Verrues: temperate, was above all his Predecessors, both in Wine and Women, taking no more than the first, then might well suffice and consist with his *British* Nature; and for the last, constant in his Religion; insomuch that none of all the preceding Kings that arrived to his years (except his Royal Father) could be compared to him. He was a good Theologian,

not onely in the Theorick, but Practis'd what he knew. None ever undertook him in dispute, but much admired his Parts; even those Ministers which the Parliament sent to him in *Isle of Wight*, besides many others: the Earl of *Worcester* and Mr. *Hendersen*, were both silenced with his Arguments. He was endued with much Patience, Prosperity and Adversity being both one to him, working little else in him, but onely to shew that he had an absolute command over his Passions and Affections. His Actions in the last scene of his Life, made many pity him, who before had undervaluing thoughts of his Abilities, looking upon him as too weak to bear the burden of three Kingdoms on his Shoulders. In a word, he wanted nothing, but less confidence in those about him, and more courage and resolution in himself, to be a happy King.

This Tragedy being over, the Parliament immediately changed the Government into a Commonwealth, voting a King and House of Lords to be unnecessary and chargeable: that the Supreme Authority should reside in the House of Commons alone, without King or Lords: and to that effect,

effect, imposed an Engagement to be taken by all persons, before they should receive any benefit by the Law, or enjoy any place of publick trust or profit, that they could hinder them of. This Pill they swallowed, but did not like the taste, had it not been wrapt about in gold (for profit) few would have put it to their Mouths. The Stomacks of the Country most of all nauseated it, being pointed against the Covenant, which they had taken not long before, and endeavored still to maintain.

Affairs of State standing thus, the Parliament finde the Nation full of Southerners that were lately disbanded, formerly in the field, as the Kings; and others the Parliaments, formerly in the service, but now disbanded for superfluities: these for the most part were of Fortune, who by reason of their continuance from their Callings, could not possibly set themselves to work, therefore must use their Swords to their advantage, either upon some new employment, or exercise arms on the Highway. Our new State being very sensible of this (as they were not onely vigilant to

careful in preventing all inconveniences that might happen) found out a way to divert these ill Humours that lay lurking in the Body of the Nation, by sending them to *Ireland*, where they might do good service, in reducing the Rebels that now were grown powerful, that no place but *London*, *Irry*, and *Dublin* it self, were able to withstand them; nor they neither, without speedy succours from *England*.

This Rebellion (the most barbarous and bloody of any that ever broke out in any part of the world, acted by Devils in Southerne shape, rather than by men, murdering no less then 200000 Protestants in two Months time, without any regard to Age or Sex) was put in practice the 23 day of *October*, 1641. which though it had been contrived with such civillie, and acted with such violence, yet divine Providence did wonderfully preserve *Dublin*, to be a Refuge for such as escaped thither from other places, to avoid the fury of their bloody Persecutions.

Now *Ireland* lying in this sad condition

on, weltring in blood, and overwh
in the greatest Misery that Fire and
could inflict, many of the poor Protestants
get into *England*, hoping there to
shelter from the persecuting Enemy
this proved little comfort to those
sed Souls; for here they finde, to the
Augmentation of their Grief, that
Ireland prepares on all sides to act the
upon one another, vvhich had been
against them in *Ireland*. But altho
the difference between the King and
liament grew vvider every day th
ther, they endeavouring rather to g
vantages, then compose differences
twas so agreed, that some Regi
should be sent over into *Ireland*,
the proceedings of the Rebels: vvh
effect vvas but as a Bucket of vvater
on a flaming House, that could do little
the quenching of it.

After some time, the King in *Eng*
finding his strength every day more
more decrease, and the Parliament
ground of him in most places, did
onely send for those Forces out of *Ire*
again, but many of the Rebels

themselves came to his assistance, so that *Ire-*
land by this vvas in a vvorse condition
then ever, forsaken of all, and left to be
vvorried by those Blood-thirsty Wolves;
vvorse by a thousand degrees then the ra-
venous brood vvvhich their Country pro-
duceth: yet vvhen their condition was
at the worst, it pleased GOD (vvho ne-
ver fails his People in distress, but makes
their necessity his opportunity) to stir up
the Parliament in *England* vvith Bowels
of compassion to look on the distresses of
their Brethren. Long had they fasted and
prayed for them, but did not add to it
their helping hand: one vvithout the o-
ther can never do much good; but joyn-
ed together, a small Force is sufficient to
accomplish great Designes. *A desperate di-*
sease requires a desperate Cure. The State-
Physitians of *England* having now quite
purged out Monarchy vvith all its Appen-
dants, and verified the words of Bishop
Land, No Bishop, no King; the first (vvith
the Ceremonies of the Church) being
fallen, quickly after came the other down
also; they resolve to send the same sharp
medicine to cure the Bleeding VVounds
of *Ireland*, which (they thought) had
cured

cured *England*: and to that end they
 over an Army under the Command of
 liant *Cromwel*; vvhose Actions there
 now come to.



H I S
W A R S
 I N
IRELAND.

A General ought to have these four
 Properties to make him Victori-
 ous:

1. A good Cause.
2. Strict Discipline.
3. Valour and Resolution.
4. Lastly, Celerity.

For the first, none but the Papists will
 E deny

deny it: for the rest, no man in the could shew more Valour and Resolution nor Prudence to govern it, then *Cromwel*. A strict Discipline he ever served, which is the Life of an Army sparing none that transgress against Articles of War which were instituted for their better conduct. His Souldiers riage and behaviour, through their Generals care, won more then his Sword. Designe being once resolved upon, himself was the Messenger to bring Enemy tidings thereof, and then he hardly give them leave to Arm before assaulted them either by Storm or Betrayal.

This made the old Emperour of many say to some of his Courtiers, at his hearing of News from *England*, he thought *Cromwel* by transmigration was possess'd with the Spirit of *Gustavus* old Enemy: so neer did their actings in Wars agree.

Ireland (to speak of its condition a little before he undertook his expedition ther) was in a manner wholly reduced to *Ormond*, formerly made Lord-Deputy by the Queen; who having joyned his Forces

to the Rebels, and *Inchequeen* himself being now fallen off from that cause which before he stoutly defended, no visible Force remained in the Field to oppose the Enemy, who had the Kingdom wholly at their devotion, except *London-derry*, which was governed by Sir *Charles Coot*; and *Dublin* the chief City, wherein was Col. *Michael Jones*, with no great Force; and that which made it less, was the suspicion he had of his own Souldiers fidelity, who many times deserted their Colours. The Enemy with a numerous Army lay under the Walls of it, with many menacing Summons, requiring of them a speedy rendition: yet through the vigilancy of the Governour Valiant *Jones*, it held out to the confusion of the Besiegers. But his present danger made him reiterate his Calls to the Parliament in *England* for speedy Aid of Men and Provisions, alledging, that else all would be lost: and they being sensible of his condition, expedite their Assistance, appointing Com. Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Horton*, Major Gen. *Lambert*, with their four Regiments of Horse; Col. *Emers*, Col. *Cook*, Col. *Huson*, and Col. *Dean*, with theirs of Foot, and

and five Troops of Dragoons, all old Soldiers of the English Army, whose Valour had often been tried in many sharp encounters, and found not to fear the countenance of the fiercest Enemy. Besides these, other Regiments were raised by beat of Drum, to make up the number sufficient to carry on the Work effectually.

The Soldiers being in readiness, and nothing wanting but a General, the Parliament having had experience of Cromwell's great worth and valour, knowing him more fitting for the Employment, desired him to accept of it; who received it with a great deal of cheerfulness; expressing how ready he was to serve in that Employment above any in the world, doubting but God would make of him an Instrument to execute Vengeance upon the Rebellious Irish. This answer was highly resented by the Parliament, who immediately they constituted him General of all their Forces in that Kingdom, and Lord Governour both as to Civil and Military Affairs in the Nation. Col. Jones they commissioned Lieutenant-General of the Horse. This being done, the Soldiers

March with great speed (not resting above one night in a place) to the Rendezvous near *Milford in Wales*, there to expect the Lord Deputy *Cromwell*; who having dispatched his business with the Parliament, began his Journey.

Tuesday July 10, 1649. leaving *London*, he set forward in great state, himself drawn in a Coach with six Flanders Mares, attended by many Members of the Parliament, and Council of State, with the chiefest Officers of the Army; his Life-guard consisting of eighty men, which had been formerly Commanders, bravely mounted and accoutred, both themselves and Servants. Thus he rid to *Branford*, where those Gentlemen that accompanied him took leave, wishing a successful issue to this designe: which was answered again with great respect. Away he posts for *Bristol*, to take order for the Train of Artillery, and many other businesses needful for the hastning his men on Ship-board. From thence he takes his way to *Wales*, having before sent three Regiments, (*viz.* Col. *Reynolds* of Horse, Col. *Venables* and Col. *Muncks* of Foot) these as the *Vant-Coureurs* to the Army, were ship'd

from *Chester* and the Ports thereabout who being favoured with a prosperous Gale, soon arrived at the Port of *Dublin* where they were received with unspeakable Joy and Gladness: the Citizens spared for nothing that might be a comfort to the Sea-sick Souldiers, hoping that recovery of their Health, might be an enlargement of their Liberties, vvhom were vvholly confined within the narrow compass of their City-walls. They were not at all deceived in their expectation. *Jones* his courage being much heightened by the arrival of these men, now scorned the Enemies Bravadoes, and resolves (on the first opportunity) by Gods blessing, to remove them farther off; which was not long before he performed: as appears by what follows. On Tuesday, August 2. 1649. the Enemy confidently drew down (vvith a party of 1500 Foot besides Horse) to *Baginbroad*, a place within one quarter of a Mile Eastward of the City upon the Sea: hence they intended to run their trenches towards the City works, and thereby secure those Forts which were intended to be made towards the water, to hinder the landing of supplies

plies and succours expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds*, with those other Commanders in the City, observing the intent of the Enemy, saw a necessity to interrupt them in their designs, and therefore speedily drawing out twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, they with these quickly enter the works (which the Enemy had newly raised) and fell upon them with so much courage, that they routed their Horse at the first charge: the greatest part of the Foot were soon after cut in pieces, and most of the rest taken prisoners.

This success so heated *Jones* his Men, that they followed the chase to *Rathmines*, where *Ormond's* Camp was, and there they engaged his whole Army, consisting of 19000 Men. The report of this bold Attempt, quickly reached the General *Ormond's* Ears, who then (like a doughty Commander) was valiantly playing at Tables in his own Tent; and being told the news, wished the Rebels (as he called them) would come, that so he might have sport with them. His wish he had, but not the wished effect: for the Tables are soon turned, the sport proving very bad

and bloody to *Ormonds* whole Army, were totally routed with a very slaughter; 4000 killed in the fight, 2517 prisoners taken, most of men of quality; amongst the rest, *Ormonds* own Brother: All their great Ammunition & Provision, they left behind them, and withall, a rich Camp, to reward the valiant Souldiers; who, with the thereof, quickly clothed themselves in rich Habits, and so marched into the City as it were *incognito*; for many of the Officers knew not their own Souldiers, they were grown so fine. This Victory was obtained with the loss of few, number not exceeding twenty.

The News of this great Victory quickly reached the Lord Governour *Cromwell* at *Milford Haven*, who was then shipping himself and Army. August the 1st he set sail from thence with thirty ships, wherein was the Van of the Army on the 15 day, Major-General *Iretton* followed after with the Body, shipped forty two sail: Mr. *Hugh Peters* brought up the Reare, in about twenty sail. The Winds being favourable, quickly brought them to *Dublin*, where they were received

with all the signes of Joy imaginable; the great Guns ecchoed forth their welcome, and the peoples Acclamations resounded in every street. When *Cromwell* (the now Lord Governour) was come into the City (the concourse of people being very great to see him, whom before they had heard so much of) at a convenient place he made a stand, and in an humble posture, having his Hat in his Hand, he speaks thus to the people: *That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but (by his Divine Providence) to restore them all to their just Liberties and Proprieties; and that all those whose hearts affections were real for the carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and bloody-thirsty Irish, and the rest of their Adherents and Confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of Truth and Peace, and restoring that bleeding Nation to its former happiness and tranquillitie, should finde favour and protection from the Parliament of England, and himself; and withal, should receive such endowments and gratuities as should be answerable to their Merits.*

This Speech was highly applauded by the

the people, and answer returned by hundreds, That *they would live and dye for him.*

The Army being all vvafted over, the General knowing that vvithout Gods blessing his labour vvould be in vain, therefore (to obtain it) he published a proclamation, strictly forbidding all persons under his Command to use the frequent practise of swearing, cursing, and drunkenness; declaring a full resolution to punish with the greatest severity that the Law could inflict, all those that should neglect or contemn the same. This vvrought great Reformation; many taking warning, by the punishment of some. The Army being now refreshed, and the Lord Governour having settled the Affairs of the City, both Military and Civil, draws the Army out of *Dublin* to a general Muster, vvhere appeared a complete Body of 15000 Horse and Foot: out of these were drawn twelve Regiments, containing in number between 9 or 10 stout resolute Men, for the present Expedition. This Army being provided vvith all things necessary either for Offence or Defence, drawing along vvith them a

great traine of Artillery, four vvhole Cannons, and five Demy-cannons, besides other pieces useful either for a Siege or the field, the Lord-Governour marches them away, and quickly seats himself under the Walls of *Tredagh*. Here he finds a most resolute enemy, that vvould sooner break then bend: the Governour of the Town vvvas Sir *Arthur Ashton* (vvho had formerly been Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford* in *England* for the King) a Soldier he vvvas, that vvould not be compelled out of his Garrison; nothing but force must do the feat. With him vvvere about 3000 Horse and Foot, most of them English. Observing the Rules of War, *Cromwel* sent them a Summons; vvwhich was slighted, and looked upon rather as a formality, then that he did believe to have the Town upon it. This taking no effect, the Lord-Governour orders all things for a quick dispatch of the Siege: *Aiscough's* ships block them up by Sea; on the Land, the vvwhite Flag vvvas taken in, and the Red Ensigne displayed before the Town, to denounce blood and destruction vvithout a speedy rendition. This did not much frighten the besieged, vvho expected suc-

succour from *Ormond*; and besides, they were unanimous in this resolution, to fire vwith the Town; vvhich they did shortly after: for now a strong Battery being planted, it quickly levelled the pile of a Church (so that it could not properly be called a Steeple-House) on the South side the Town, and a Tower. The next day, the Battery continuing, they sent two or three hundred shot made, at the corner Tower between the East and South wall vvas beaten down, and two breaches made, vvhich were quickly entred by *Hufons*, *Ewers*, and *Castle's* Regiment of Foot, the breaches being not wide enough to admit the Horse to enter vwith them. Here the height of Valour vvas shewed on both sides; they grappling vwith each other at the Swords point; the Assailants fighting for the Town, and the Defenders for their Lives, (vvhich indeed vwill not be a coward fight, though he fear to die upon the blows he gives:) the breaches were not more courageously assaulted, then valiantly defended; the Enemy in gallantly charging those that entered, driving them back again vwith more force, then they came in. *Cromwel* all this while

standing at the Battery, and perceiving his Mens retreat, draws out a fresh reserve of Col. *Ewers* his Foot, and in person enters vwith them once more into the Town. The example of their General, vwith the shame of the former repulse, so animated the Souldiers, that none were able to stand in their vway: and having now got the footing in the Town, they spare none, but put all they met vwith to the Sword. But though the town vvas thus vwon, it was not vvholly subdued: for *Ashtons* men desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the Assailants vwin what they had by inches; and at last, the streets proving too hot, they betook themselves to the Churches and Steeples, and other places of shelter: in *St. Peters* Church-steeple were got about one hundred, vvhich there resolved to sell their lives as dear a rate as possibly they could: but they were all soon blown up vwith Gun-powder, onely one man escaped, by leaping from the Tower; the Wind being favourable to him, he onely broke his leg by the fall; which the Souldiers seeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places they were summoned

to yeeld; which they refusing, present strong Guards were put upon them to prevent their succour, that so they might be starved out: vvhich device vvas effectual, that it made them soon yeeld to the Conquerers Mercy; vvhich vvas small: for all the Officers, vvith the men of the Souldiery, vv ere presented, and the rest thrust on ship-board *Barbadoes*. The Governour had his share also, making an end both of his Life and Government together.

This Town vvas the most considerable that ever *Cromwel* came before, if vv e respect the stout resistance made by its Garrison, and how much the having of this place might conduce to the reducing of all *Ireland*: and though the attempt was bloody, *Cromwel* himself giving command not to spare any one that should be found in Arms; yet Cruelty could not be laid to his charge: for, like a Politick Physician, he here opens one Vein, to serve the vv hole Body of the Nation, and by this vvorking a lingering War; and by this likewise he vvrought such a terrour in the Enemy, that ever after he made but little vvork of any Siege, and in small time reduced the vv hole Nation.

The report of this great slaughter, quickly flies away to *Trim* and *Dundalk*, (the two next Garisons) which put them into such a pannick fear, that they quitted the Towns: in *Trim* their haste vvas so great, that they left their great Guns behinde them on the Platforms.

Not long after this service vvas over, the Lord-Governour knowing this stroak vvas as it vv ere given upon the Lungs, and that a sprightly prosecution would quickly beat the Enemy out of breath; he resolves to make use of the present opportunity. Now his quarters vv ere so much enlarged by his good success Northwards, to the end he may get Elbow-room on both sides of *Dublin*, he marches the Army Westward to attacque *Wexford*. In his March, a place called *Killingkerick* (about 14 miles from *Dublin*) vvas quitted, and a company of *Cromwells* Army put into it: so likewise was *Arcklo*-Castle, the seat of *Ormonds* Family. Besides these, many other places in their March submitted.

Octob. 1. the Army fac'd *Wexford*, and required the Governor Col. *David Synnot*, to make a speedy surrender thereof. His answer was very doubtful as to his intention.

rentions, which occasioned many pa
to pass betwixt him and the Lord Crom
This delay of the Governour, was
posely used, to protract time, until
the Earl of *Castle-haven* had entered
the Town 500 Foot to strengthen the
rison. The Governour having receiv
these recruits, resolves now to stand
as long as he could, seeming to contr
the Force that lay against him. N
the South-East end of the Town is se
the Castle; upon that, *Crommel* be
his greatest Force, knowing that the g
ing thereof would be the Towns red
ment: Which fell out to be true:
many Peals of great shot were not p
upon it, but the Governors stomach
down to a rendition. The Souldiers be
now posselt of the Castle, and shew
themselves from thence, struck such a
rible Fear into them in the Town,
they quitted the Walls; which *Crommel*
Souldiers perceiving, in a trice they cl
to their scaling Ladders, and stormed w
out any great resistance. Being thus
tered the Town, none vvas suffered
breath, that vvas found in Arms: and
cutting their vway through the Street

they came to the Market-place, where the
Enemy (as if the blood had returned to
the heart now at the last gasp) moit man-
fully fought for some time. This sharp
encounter lasted not long, before they
were quite broken, and all that were
found in Arms put to the Sword.

The reducement of this place was of
great consequence to the Conquerers, be-
ing a Port-Town, and very convenient to
receive supplies from *England*. From
thence the Army march to *Rosse* a strong
Town situate upon the *Barrow*, and far
more considerable for Navigation then
Wexford, the River admitting a Ship of se-
ven or eight hundred Tun to ride by the
Wall. Of this place Major General *Taaff*
was Governour, who had with him a
strong Garison; and to make all sure, *Or-*
mond, *Castlehaven*, and the Lord of *Ards*,
in their own Persons, caused 1500 men
more to be boated over to reinforce it.
Of this, the Army were Spectators, but
could do nothing to impede their En-
trance. The Lord Governour no sooner
approached it, but he sent the Governour
a Summons, to this effect: *That since his*
coming into Ireland, he ever avoided the
F *effu-*

effusion of blood; having been before place, where he did not first send them on terms as might be for their preservation and to continue the like course, he summoned them to deliver up the town to the Parliament of England. To this no answer present was returned, until three great Guns planted before it began to play, then the Governour fearing to fall in the same *Præmuniri* that other Garisons had done before, was content to treat which they did, and came to this issue, That the Town be delivered up, and they with march away with bag and baggage.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Kinsale*, *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Bandon-bridge*, and other Garisons voluntarily declared, & came under obedience: In the North, *Sir Charles Coote* and *Col. Venables* were very successful: the Lord *Braughal*, and *Col. Hussey* in other places, did very good service. I should here particularize some of them, but that my whole designe is to march along with the main Body of the Army.

Ross being now in *Cromwell's* Possession, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the River *Barrow*, and the Army to march down before *Duncannon*, a strong Fort com-

commanded by *Col. Woggen*, (who had formerly served the King in England.) This place was so well provided with all things, that upon consideration at a Council of War, it was looked upon to be time lost in tarrying long before it: therefore the Army speedily rose, and march away into the County of *Kilkenny*, where *Ormond*, having joyned his Forces with *Inchequeen*, gave out that he would fight, whatever came of it. His Army was strong both in Horse and Foot, far outpassing *Cromwell's*, who was weakened by continual duty, hard marches, the Flux and other sicknesses raging amongst them, occasioned by wants, and unseasonable weather, commonly quartering in the field: yet for all this, *Ormond*, that *Ignis fatuus* upon the approach of the Army, (whose weaknesses at that time required rather an Hospital to cure their distempers, than an Enemy to make fresh wounds) vanished away, without giving one stroke: Whereupon *Col. Abbot* reduced *Enistoege*, a little walled Town about five miles from *Ross*: and *Col. Reynolds* with twelve Troops of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons, marching up to *Carrick*, having divided

divided his men into two parts; when they were amused with the one party, he entered a gate with the other, taking about one hundred Officers and Souldiers without the loss of one man.

The news of this place no sooner arrived at *Ross*, but the Lord-Governour *Cromwell* (who for some time had lain sick) marched away immediately to reduce the City of *Waterford*, hoping to gain that important place before the Army should draw into Winter-Quarters.

No sooner was he come before it, but a Regiment of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons, were dispatched away to reduce *Passage-Fort*: this party soon made the desired quarter, and deliver up the Fort and Castle: in it were five great Guns, much Arms and Ammunition. The Garisons, now in the hands of those who could make good use of them, were of great importance to the reduction of *Munster*, and consequently of all *Ireland*.

The Lord-Governour being now before *Waterford*, and seeing the City resolved to stand upon their own defence, being now *December*, the weather

very wet, and his Forces weak, he draws them off into Winter-quarters, that they might be refreshed against the Spring, to finish the work so prosperously begun. Their quarters were at *Bandon-Bridge*; Col. *Ewer* and his Regiment, at *Kingsale*; Col. *Stubber*, at *Cork*; Col. *Thaier* and Col. *Cook*, at *Wexford*; and *Toughal* the Head-quarters: in other places convenient for a quick conjunction if occasion should serve, the Army was placed.

Now the Souldiery are taking their rest, we may look back a little upon some Actions which fell out since their leaving *Waterford*. No sooner was the Army marched away, but *Passage-Fort* was besieged by a party from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joyned together: but Col. *Zanckey* setting upon them, routed the whole party, killing a great many, and carrying away 350 prisoners. Many other Skirmishes were maintained with the like success: yet little comfort could be had in them, when the loss of Lieutenant-General *Jones* was reflected upon; he died of a violent Fever at *Dungarven*, *December* 20, 1649. He was a man real to that trust

which was reposed in him; a daring man yet governing his Valour with discretion which makes a good Souldier; not only but advised in all his attempts: a general loss he was to the Army, yet not all, quickly after followed Col. *Wolf*, and *Scot* Master-General *Roe*; the Army had the share of this mortality: if the Commanders fall, how can it be expected the common Souldiers should escape free? But to save up the business, continual supplies were sent by the Parliament from *England*, which made them, as it were, immortal: so that though many men were lost their number was not diminished.

Whilst the Army lay in their quarters *Cromwel* was not idle; he visited all the Garisons that were in his possession in *Minster*, and ordered all Affairs both Military and Civil. Coming to *King's* the Maior (as in other places) presented him with the Mace and Keys; which he kept, (not returning them again) and conferred the Office upon another. This was looked upon the more, because it had not been used by the Lord Governor, but the Maior being an Irish-man, and withal a Papist, it was not thought fit

trust such a one with the Government of so considerable a place.

Now *Cromwel*, knowing that he which intends to do much business, must rise betimes, and lose no opportunity; his Souldiers had not breathed in their Winter-quarters fully two months, before he marched out of *Youghal* with about 3000, to enlarge his quarters: when they were in the field, he divided them into two parties; himself took one, the other was led by *Ireton*, who marched away to *Carri- rick*, there to reinforce himself by the conjunction of Col. *Reynolds*. These were to march into the Enemies quarters two several ways, and to meet together at a Rendezvous near *Kilkenny*: in order to this designe, *Cromwel* takes with him one party, and marches away over the *Blackwater* towards the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The first place he took in, was a Castle called *Kilkenny* upon the edge of the County of *Limerick*: afterwards in his march, fell in *Clogheen* House, and *Roghil* Castle: here he passed the River *Sewer* with much difficulty, and immediately marched away to *Featherd*, a Garison-Town governed by one *Butler*: about

ten at night they got into the Suburbs, sent a Trumpet with a summons to the Town; which at first was slighted; but taking a resolution to storm, Commissioners were sent to treat, who agreed on Articles to deliver up the Town, and march away with their Arms. The taking of this place much refreshed the Army, who were tired with tempestuous weather.

Yet here they tarried not long, but moved to *Callyne*, a Garison of the Enemy about six miles from *Kilkenny*, where they joyned with *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zanekey* making up in all a considerable Body. The chief strength of *Callyne* consisted in three Castles that were in the Town; these the Souldiers stormed one after another, and carryed them all, putting all to the Sword they met with: this so terrified those that kept a House about a Quarter-shot from the Town, that immediately they sent to desire liberty to march away to *Kilkenny*; which was granted. When the Souldiers had sufficiently recruited their Knapacks with the provisions taken in the Town, they marched back again to *Featherd*; by the way, the two Castles of *Knottover* and *Bullynard* were

reduced: presently after fell in *Kiltannon*, *Arfennon*, *Coker*, and *Dundrum*, very considerable places: in taking the latter, Col. *Zanekey* received a shot through the hands.

The Lord Governour *Crommel* had now wholly subjugated all places of advantage, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*: these were strong, and required much time; however, he resolves upon the last: but considering that the strength he had would not be sufficient to carry on the designe, he sent for Col. *Huson* to march speedily up to him with his Forces; which he did, and by the way took the Castle of *Loughin*; afterwards he joyns with the Lord-Governours Army near *Gorran*, a populous Town, strengthened by a strong Castle, which was commanded by Col. *Hammond* a Kentish man: to him was sent an invitation to deliver up the Castle; but he trusting to the Valour of his men, which were *Ormonds* own Regiment, returned a very resolute answer; thereupon, the great Guns quickly roared out their persuasions, which made him beat a Parley when 'twas too late; for no other conditions could now be obtained.

ed, but these: *That the common Souldiers should have their lives, and the Officers disposed of as should be thought fit.* The sharp conditions being yeelded unto, the next day, *Hammond* his Major, and the rest of the Commission-Officers (all but one) were shot to death; and the Priest who was Chaplain to the Catholicks in the Regiment, hanged.

This place being thus vvon, preparations were made for the besieging of the City of *Kilkenny*. This Garison required more then ordinary Force to master; for besides the Souldiers of the ordinary Garison there, to it had resorted all the soldiers that had yeelded upon Articles the former Castles and Towns in that County. Yet this did not at all discourage *Cromwell*, whose imaginations comprehended things that were not impossible; and scorning that this one place, though never so strong, should be a dam to stop the current of his Victories; *March* 1650. he dislodged the Army, sending forward of all a small party of Horse before upon discovery; quickly after, came up the Body: within a mile of the City, there he made a stand, and sent the Governour *Stuart*

Walter Butler, and the Corporation, a summons to deliver up the City for the use of the Parliament of *England*. The next day an answer vvas returned, but not satisfactory: thereupon, the approaches were made neer to the Wall, and a Battery of three Guns planted to play upon the best place that could be to annoy the besieged, and vvithal to open an entrance to the Besiegers. All this vvwhile, they vvithin were not idle; but perceiving where the Lord *Cromwell* bent his greatest strength, they provide there to make the greatest opposition, by raising two Retrenchments on the inside, strongly palisadoing them, and placing some pieces that might play to the best advantage; but above all, there vvas a crew of choice men that promised much. *Cromwell* hating delay, vvhen his business required dispatch, caused the Guns to play; vvich had not made fully one hundred shot, before a breach vvas opened. VVhile this vvas in doing, Col. *Emers* vvith 1000 Foot vvas ordered to endeavour the possession of one part of the City, called *Irish Town*: and the better to facilitate the enterprise, *Cromwell* gave the signe for the Souldiers

to fall into the breach : which they no sooner done, but they were beaten again with loss ; and so disheartned by that the storm was left off : yet for all that Col. *Emers* carried the *Irish Town* with small loss, which made satisfaction for the affront. There being on the other side the River another small Town, or Suburb to the main City, it was thought fit to send eight companies of Foot to possess it : which was done without any opposition. The gaining of this, encouraged them to endeavour to force a passage on the Bridge into the City ; but it proved the same effect as at the breach before. By these desperate attempts made the Governor reflect upon his condition ; and rather, because the Garrison in *Cantwicks Castle*, whom *Butler* had sent for, desired Passes of the Lord *Cromwel* to go beyond Sea to serve forraigne Princes, ingaging to act nothing prejudicial to the Parliament of *England* : which was granted them. That was one thing that discouraged him ; but chiefly this, that he must not only defend himself, but withal must be his own relief, there being no Army in the field sufficient to do it ; and withal

the longer he held out, the worse it would be for him. These things considered, made him hearken to a Treaty ; which being once commenced, they soon concluded to deliver up the City and Castle upon these terms :

1. To deliver up the City and Castle to the Lord *Cromwel*, with all the Arms, Ammunition, and publick Store.

2. The Inhabitants of *Kilkenny* to be protected in their Persons, Goods and Estates, from the violence of the Souldiery ; and they that were desirous of removal, to have liberty three Months after the date of the Articles.

3. The Governour, Officers and Souldiers to march away with bag and baggage.

4. The City to pay 2000 pounds as a gratuity to his Excellency the Lord *Cromwel*s Army.

Thus was the City of *Kilkenny* (which had been the seat of the supream Council, and the Centre where the lines of all their pernicious devices met, the productions whereof had so malevolent an influence upon poor *Ireland*) brought under obe-

obedience in six days time, (for no longer the Siege lasted) chiefly by the industry and indefatigable pains of the Lord Cromwell, who ever was a partaker with his Souldiers in their hardships, and never flincht from them at any time when he required his personal valour; in so much that at many places he laid by the dignity of a great Commander, to act the part of a private Souldier.

Here he tarried no longer a time than was requisite to settle the Affairs of the City; which having done, he then marched the Army to Carrick, from thence to proceed upon farther Action.

Ormond, Castle-haven, and the Bishop of Clogher, being now very sensible of the desperate condition their Affairs were reduced to, had a meeting at Baltamore in Westmeath, with the Gentlemen of the County, to confer about some better way to support that cause which hitherto they had so poorly defended. The chief heads of this Debate were:

1. Whether they were able to raise such Forces as might be sufficient to fight the Lord Cromwell, now they conceived the Men were much weakened by the winter

and taking in of so many Garisons. Or,

2. In case they were not able to fight, then with all the Forces they could make to fall into the English quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could.

3. If these two ways were not feasible, then whether it were not most convenient for them all to joyn in some propositions of Pacification for the whole, or every one for himself, to make his particular Application.

This last was hearkned to by some: but the chiefest of them knowing their own guilt, thought it not likely for them to get good conditions, now necessity compelled them to be Supplicants; and therefore to mischief the English in their quarters, was looked upon to be the safest way for them all, to spin out time, til they could get a fit opportunity to make an escape out of the Land.

The Lord Cromwell having well refresh'd his Army after the Siege of Kilkenny, sits down before Clonmel, another strong place, Garison'd by 2000 Foot, and six-score Horse. No sooner was the Leaguer planted, but Col. Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were sent with 2500 Horse, Foot and

and Dragoons, to be beforehand with *Ormond, Castlehaven*, and those with the that intended an irruption into the English Quarters; but they shifting from place to place, to avoid fighting, Col. *Reynolds* to keep his men from idleness, joyns his Forces with Col. *Huson*, and with the great Guns and a Morter Piece, besiege *Trim*. Another Party of 1400 Horse and Dragoons, and 1200 Foot, under the Lord *Broghil*, were sent to fight the Bishop *Ross*, who with 5000 intended to relieve *Clonmel*. The Bishops Mitre being metamorphosed into an Helmet, he thought verily to scare the Lord *Broghil* with the strangeness of the sight, being such a thing as he had never seen before, a Bishop that should be the Shepherd of a Flock now to head an Army of Wolves: but the Lord *Broghil* getting to them, in little more time then one could say two or three Creeds, wholly dissipates them, killing upon the place betwveen 6 and 700, and taking 20 Captains, Lieutenants, and other Officers; and to bring up the Rear, the Bishop himself was taken, with the Standard of the Church of *Munster*. The Lord *Broghil* having him now in his power

power, he carries him to a Castle defended by the Bishops Forces, and there hangs him up before the walls, in the sight of the Garrison; which wrought such terror in them, that they delivered up the Castle upon Articles.

These successes of Parties abroad, did much encourage those that besieged *Clonmel*; who now on all sides prepare to handle that Garrison, as before they had done other places. And indeed, the Lord General used more then ordinary industry in reducing this Town, in regard he had been informed that its defendants were very unanimous, and that they were choice men, well armed, and every way sufficiently provided to make a stout resistance: and besides, it was governed by an active Irish-man, one *Hugh Boy O Neel*, who had set all hands in the Town on work, to cast up new Countre-scarps on the inside of the old walls, and to do whatsoever else might serve for the defence of the place; and had so travers'd the ground with Re-intrenchments, that it seemed altogether impossible to gain it by Assault; nothing but Hunger (as was thought) could reduce it to obedience: but

but the active gallantry of the Lord *Crommel*, would not admit of that countenance; he us'd not to stand dallying before the place, (as the *Germans*, *French*, and other Nations) trifling out precious time, and expending vast sums, to little or no purpose: and besides, upon many weighty considerations, this service required quick dispatch; chiefly, in regard of the Expedition into *England*, whither he had lately been sent for by the Parliament there, to serve them in some other way. He therefore (without delay) orders things for a Storm, intending to try whether that would not either drown the enemy, or cool their courage, who were hotly set upon the defence. The Governor being summoned to a Rendition, and returning no satisfactory Answer, great Guns were planted; which were managed so well, that they quickly opened a breach; which breach (upon a signal given) being courageously entered by the Assailants, they within were wanting to entertain them with a manly resistance, and to forbid their march by other way then over their own bodies; but *Crommel's* men (who us'd not to

thus check'd in the career of their Successes) notwithstanding the Enemies valorous obstinacie, made good their ground, and maintained a Fight for four hours together, which proved so hazardous, that the victory hovering betwixt both, it was hard to say on which side it would light, (there being a great slaughter on both sides) till at last, the Lord *Crommel* (assisted by that good Providence which always attended him) decided the controversy, by forcing the Enemy to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight, wherein though they were very much favoured by certain hills near the Town, yet could they not avoid the rage and fury of the victorious Souldiers, who in pursuit paid them home in their own coyn. Concerning this Fight, I finde it thus written by an eminent Commander in the Army, and an assistant in this encounter: *We found in Clonmel (saith he) the stoutest enemy that ever was found by our Army in Ireland: and it is in my opinion, and very many more, that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long a continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland.* The Reduction of this place (though at a hard hand)

hand) inclined many more to yeeld; which they did in a short time after, without striking a stroke.

These Achievements being obtained, and care taken to secure what had been gotten, the Lord General addresses himself to his journey for *England*, having been in *Ireland* about ten months; viz. from the middle of *August* 1649. to the next *May* following, 1650. a time inconsiderable, respect had to the work done therein, which was more then ever could be done in ten years before, by any King or Queen of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth* indeed, after a long and tedious War there, at last drove out the Spaniards that came in to the assistance of the rebellious *Natives*; but could never utterly extinguish the sparks of that Rebellion. And not only did the shortness of the time render the work admirable, but the nature of the work it self; it being against a most obstinately-desperate bloody enemy, people that had put themselves out of all hopes of favour or mercy, by acting the most bloody Tragedie that ever hath been seen or related, in that their universal Massacre of the English, yet recent in memory.

There remained now onely *Limerick*, *Waterford*, and some few inconsiderable Garisons, to be reduced; which being done, they might finde leisure to hunt the wilde Irish, who were fled for refuge among their Bogs. This was left to the charge of *Ireton*, whom the Lord Governor having constituted Lord Deputy, he takes leave of *Ireland*; and committing himself to the Sea, arrived safely (after a boisterous passage) at *Bristol*, where he was received with a thrice-repeated Volley of great Guns, and other suitable demonstrations of joy. Hence, without tarrying, he posts for *London*: drawing near *Hounslow-Heath*, he is there met by the Lord General *Fairfax*, accompanied by many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, with multitudes that came out of curiosity, to see him, of whom Fame had made such a loud report. Hence, after mutual salutations, congratulations, and other testimonies of high respect, he proceeds on; and passing near *Hide-park-corner*, he is saluted with great Guns, and several Volleys of small Shot, by Colonel *Barkstead's* Regiment, which was drawn up in the High-way for that purpose.

purpose. Continuing thus their march (multitudes increasing to behold him) the Lord *Cromwel* is conducted to the house called the *Cock-pit*, neer *St. James*, which had been appointed and prepared for him. Here he was visited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and by many other persons of quality, all of them expressing their own and the Nations great obligations to him for his great Service in *Ireland*. After some time of rest and refreshment, he attended his charge in Parliament, where the Speaker in an elegant Speech gave him the thanks of the House. Which being ended, the Lord *Cromwel* gave them an account of the present state of *Ireland*, and of the condition of their Forces both in Field and Garrison, with what designs they were now upon; what strength the Enemy had, and what Garrisons were then in their power.

The Parliament being thus assured of the hopeful condition of *Ireland*, began now wisely to provide for the security of the peace of *England*, which was now in danger of disturbance, partly by open Hostility, and partly by the under-hand dealing

dealing of some pretended friends. *Portugal* protects Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, notwithstanding the League: *France* domineers at Sea, making prize of all the English they could bring under their power. About this time, the Parliament sends Dr. *Dorilaus* as an Agent to the States of the United Provinces, for the begetting and continuance of a right understanding and fair correspondence betwixt the two Republicks; where, not long after his arrival, he was basely slain by six Assassins, who rushed into his lodgings at the *Hague* in disguise, and escaped unpunished, although the States pretended they had used their utmost endeavour to take them. In *Russia*, the English Merchants were much affronted by that Duke, by reason of his adherence to the House of *Stuarts*. *Virginia* and the *Caribes* Islands revolted from their obedience to the Parliament, being very hot for Monarchy and the Liturgie. Nearer home, *Scilly*, *Jersey*, and the *Isle of Man*, stand out, and miserably infest the Seas with their Piracie. But above all, the Scots were the most formidable, who seemed to set their wits on the tenter, that they

they might embroyl *England* in new troubles, and thereby have opportunity to work their ends upon it. To this end Treaty is commenced betwixt them and their King, at *Breda*, a famous Town in the Netherlands belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. Here they propose,

1. That his Majesty recal and discharge all Commissions and Declarations granted by him to the prejudice of the Covenant.

2. That he acknowledge their present Parliament, and the two last Sessions thereof, and allow of the Acts made therein.

3. They remonstrate the Motives contained in the eleventh Instruction; mentioning *Uxbridge-Treaty*.

4. That as soon as he comes into Scotland, and before his admission to the exercise of Royal power, he shall swear, subscribe, and seal the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

Their King having assented, and promised *in verbo Principis* to perform the things; the Commissioners had order to let him see the Coronation-Oath he was to take; which he approving, they were to invite him into Scotland, assuring him that

that he should be entertained there, with all due respect.

To all which things the King at last condescended, partly by the perswasion of the Prince of *Orange*, (at whose cost and charges the Treaty was both begun and continued) and partly, upon hopes that by this means he might gain the easier footing in *England*.

The Scots being now impatient of the enjoyment of their King's presence; he, in order to their satisfaction herein, hastes from *Breda* towards the *Hague*, and from thence to *Scheveling*, where he took shipping, and not long after, landed (notwithstanding several snares laid for him) at the *Spey* in the North of Scotland.

The Parliament in *England* were not ignorant of these things; they having faithful Scouts abroad in the world, who failed not to give them timely notice of the machinations of their enemies in all quarters. And taking the matter into consideration in the House, a great debate there was, Whether the war (for, that there must be a war betwixt us and our dear Brethren, was taken for granted) should be Offensive or Defensive. As to the

the later, (the Defensive part) they were very sensible of the havock the Scots had formerly made in the North of *England* when they came in as friends; so that should they be suffered to come in as enemies, nothing could be expected to follow, but ruine and desolation wheresoever they came. *Hamilton's* Invasion likewise stuck in their stomachs, and the devastations that accompanied it. Besides, it was considered, that to let them give the first blow, had been to make our own Country the seat of war; and thereby an opportunity would be given to discontented spirits here (which then were not a few) to joyn with the enemy. Upon these and other weighty considerations the Parliament resolves upon an Offensive war, and to alarm them in their own Quarters. This Resolution was thought most advantageous, in many respects:

1. *Scotland* (the Enemies Country) must needs be much impoverished, by being burdened with two Armies, when it could not well maintain one; and *England* would be quit of much fear and calamity incident to quartering of Armies. Besides, in all encounters, it is good policy

licie to keep an adversary at the arms end.

2. By invading *Scotland*, the Souldiery would be much encouraged, in respect of the benefit might accrue to them by the spoils of their enemies. Hereby also the Territories of this Commonwealth were likely to be enlarged.

3. The Scots Levies were not yet finished, nor their Army completed; so that a sudden march might nip them in the bud, and prevent their further increase.

4. It was necessary to have a special regard to, and watchful eye upon *Scotland*, because (by reason of its contiguity) no Enemy could be so obnoxious to *England* as it; and how ready they have been to lay hold on all opportunities to disturb the peace of *England*, frequent examples testifie, both of former and later times. And unless that back-door were pin'd up, as great mischiefs were like to be let in thereby, now, as ever.

In order therefore to their former Resolutions, the Parliament provide for a war: they order the Army to march Northwards, to sit upon the skirts of the Scots. But Sir *Tho. Fairfax* (their General

neral at that time) being it seems not satisfied in the thing, (as many others likewise were not) desired to be excused, and laid down his Commission. Which action of his bred consternation in most, and several descants were given thereupon the Plebeian rout (whose tribunal nothing of moment can pass) judged the reason to be, that he durst not venture to abide the gust of those Northern blasts. But wise men know how much vulgar bruits are to be heeded; and that notwithstanding what was said then, or can be said now, the trumpet of his fame shall not be put to silence; nor shall Time it self be able to wipe his name into oblivion.

The Parliament being thus disappointed, are to seek for a General to command their Army; but for that they need not go far, since they had then amongst them the most renowned *Cromwel*, of whose prowess and faithfulness they had had manifold experience, and who, upon their request, did accept of the Charge: upon which, they give him a Commission, thereby empowering him to command all the Forces raised and to be raised in the Commonwealth of *England*; annulling all

Commissions formerly granted to the Lord *Fairfax*.

Cromwel being thus invested with power, presently addresses to the work; and in order thereunto, he took his journey towards the Army in the North, *June 28. 1650.* As he passed, great demonstrations of respect were given him by the generality of the people. *July 4.* he arrived at *York*, attended by many great Officers of the Army. No sooner was he entered that City, but the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs gave him an invitation to a stately Dinner, expressing how much they joyed in the presence of so renowned an Hero. But he remembering that it was Fighting and not Feasting that he came about, tarried there no longer then to order supplies for the Army, and expedite their Rendezvous.

By this time, the Committee of Estates in *Scotland* was alarmed, insomuch that they were frightened into an Expostulation with the Parliament; thinking thereby to protract time, till their Levies were perfected: to that end, they sent a Letter to the Speaker by Col. *Grey*, to this effect:

That

That they wondered at the report of English Armies advance towards their nation, and that many of their Ships were seized and secured by the English, contrary to the Act of Pacification in the large Treaty which provided that no acts of Hostility should be used against each other, without three months warning beforehand; and those Forces which they were raising, only for their own defence: and therefore they desired to know if the Forces of England now on their march Northward, were intended for Offence or Defence; to guard their own borders, or invade Scotland.

Papers of like import were also sent the Governour of Newcastle, Major General Lambert, and the Lord General Cromwell. The Parliament answered them by a Declaration shewing the Grounds and Reasons of their Armies advance, with equity and necessity thereof. The Grounds and Reasons were these.

1. For that the Scots endeavoured to seduce the people of the Commonwealth of England from their affection and loyalty to the Parliament, and to promote the Interest of the late King, under pretence of the Covenant.

2. That

2. In that they took Berwick and Carlisle, and put Garisons into them, in the year 1648. contrary to the large Treaty in 1640. and this done by the Parliament of Scotland, even whilst English Commissioners were at Edinburgh, offering to endeavour the composing of all differences betwixt the Nations by a Treaty; which they refused.

But forasmuch as every quarrel that is lawful, is not necessary, (for in some cases injuries are to be passed by, or at least to be composed by Treaty :) therefore they proceed to declare the Necessity also of their present Expedition; which they thus grounded.

All reparations of the damages done by the Scots in their late Invasion, have been denied to be given in a fair way by their Parliament: vvhich they have owned the vvrongs done thereby.

That they have a designe again to invade us; which appears thus:

1. In that, upon the English their demanding a Treaty for satisfaction of the injuries done in their late Invasion, they in expresse terms declared themselves enemies to this Commonwealth.

2. In

2. ' In that, although they could
' claim to themselves any Authority
' Dominion over us, yet in *Scotland* they
' proclaimed *Charles Stuart* to be King
' *England* and *Ireland*; and since they
' promised to assist him against this Com-
' monwealth.

3. ' In that, vwhen upon preparati-
' in *Scotland* for *Hamiltons* Invasion
' *England*, the Parliament of *England* sent
' Commissioners to treat of an Accom-
' modation, to prevent effusion of blood
' they declined the Treaty, and in the
' thereof an Army speedily marcheth into
' *England*.

4. ' In that they declared against the
' English Parliament and Army as Secta-
' ries, ranking them vvith Malignants and
' Papists.

These provocations being intolerable
and no satisfaction being to be had, but
vvhat the Sword must procure; the Par-
liament resolve upon that course, vvhere-
by (seeing no other expedient could effect
it) to vindicate the Nations honour, and
to secure it against the like insolencies for
the time to come.

This Declaration was quickly seconded
by another from the Lord General and
his Army, which they directed to the well-
affected in *Scotland*, and was to this ef-
fect:

' That they being to advance into *Scot-*
' *land* for the ends expressed in the Parlia-
' ments Declaration of *June 26*. they con-
' sidering the practices of some in that
' Kingdom, whose designs are by unjust
' reproaches and false slanders to make the
' Army odious, and render them to be ra-
' ther monsters then men: Therefore, to
' clear themselves, they could do no other-
' wise then re-minde them of their beha-
' viour when they were before in *Scot-*
' *land*; what injury or wrong was then
' done, either to the persons, houses, or
' goods of any: considering this, it was
' hoped that such their former demeanour
' would not be forgotten, nor the present
' reports affright the people from their
' habitations.

To satisfy them further, the Lord Ge-
neral and the Army declared (from the
integrity of their hearts) ' That such of
' the Gentry and Commonalty as inhabit
' where

where the Army may come, they be
 none of those who by their counsels la
 the foundation of a second Invasions
 closed with him who hath endeavoured
 to engage forraign Princes against the
 Commonwealth of *England*, and ha
 exercised actual Hostility, by commissi
 nating Pyrates to spoil the ships, and
 goods belonging thereto; to these, no
 the least violence or injury should
 offered either in body or goods; or
 any should happen, that upon complaint
 made, redress and satisfaction should im
 mediately be had. Wherefore they de
 fire all persons to abide in their habita
 tions, assuring them to enjoy what they
 had without disturbance.

No sooner was this penned, but copies
 thereof were sent into *Scotland*; and the
 Country-people that kept Market at *Berwick*,
 had their pockets stuffed with them, to
 carry home and disperse among their
 neighbours.

What good effects this course produced,
 we shall see hereafter, when the Army
 enters their borders.

The Lord General having used this ex
 pedient

pedient to undeceive the Scots, and to
 procure their good opinion of him and
 his Army; considered, that all would not
 be convinced thereby; the Sword, not the
 Pen, must perswade many of them: where
 fore he leaves *York*, and hastes to *North-*
allerton, and thence the next day to *Dar-*
ton. As he pass'd by this place, the Train
 of Artillery (which was quartered here)
 saluted him with seven Pieces of Ord
 nance. Coming next to *Newcastle*, the
 Governour Sir *Arthur Haslerig* received
 him with noble entertainment. Here the
 Lord General and the Officers of his Ar
 my in a solemn manner implored a blef
 sing from heaven upon their present Ex
 pedition. After which, upon due consi
 deration of the affairs of the Army, he
 settled a way for their supply from time to
 time with provisions. This business be
 ing dispatched, and the general Rendez
 vous appointed, the Lord General leaves
Newcastle, and posts for *Berwick*. His
 Forces being all come up, he caused a ge
 neral Rendezvous of them to be on *Hag-*
gerston-Moor, four miles from *Berwick*.
 July 20. 1650, the whole Army was
 drawn into the Field; which was no sooner
 done.

done, but the General himself came among them, being received with shouting and other signes of joy. Having viewed them, he caused both Horse and Foot to be drawn up in *Battalia*. Which being done, there appeared a gallant Body of Horse, consisting of 5415, bestrid as many stout and courageous Riders, eight complete Regiments of Foot, consisting (with their Officers) of 10240, with the Train of Artillery, which consisted of 690: so that the Army in whole, consisted of 16354. A sight most lovely, and very desirable, to see such an Army of men, (gallantly accoutred, and provided with all necessaries) who for proved valour are not to be equal'd; commanded by a General, whom no example ancient or modern can parallel, for Courage and Conduct: in a word, he was honored in his Army, and they happy in their General. Being thus in *Battalia*, the General marcheth them about an hundred paces towards *Berwick*, and so dismissed them to their quarters on the brink of *Tweed*, where we shall leave them for the present, expecting their further advancement.

HIS
WARS
 IN
SCOTLAND.

Occasion might here be taken to admire at the long continued separation that hath been betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, that notwithstanding they are cohabitants of the same Island, yet they should continue distinct Kingdoms for so many Ages together. For whereas divers Kingdoms having inferiour Dominions in them, soon subjected them to their own Rule, (as in *Spain*, where many Kingdoms are concorporated into one; and in our own Nation, where the Saxon Heptarchy was long since reduced into a Monarchy) yet *England* and *Scotland* could never be united under one Head, till the Crown of *England* devolved upon King *James*.

Many attempts have been made by several English Kings, to reduce *Scotland* to their

their obedience. *Edward* the second (a King whose greatest honour was, to be the son of an Heroick father, and father to an incomparable son) unfortunately fought the Battel at *Bannocks* in *Scotland* where (as *Holinshed* relates) was lost *Robert de Clare* Earl of *Gloucester*, 40000 men, 700 Knights and Gentlemen, and about 40000 others. This defeat was great, even the greatest that ever the English received at one time from that Nation. But in hopes to wipe away this blot and to salve up this wound, the King raised two great Armies for that purpose; but with no better success: for the first of the Armies was lost for want of courage in fight; the last, for want of food, was forced to retire, and in their retreat lost their Ammunition. But what else could be expected from a pusillanimous King who was observed in the former Battel to be the first that fled? for it could not be expected that the Souldiers should stand they being bound to follow their leader.

To reckon up all the Rencounters that have happened betwixt the two Nations would be too tedious, and stretch this discourse beyond its intended length. Yet

I shall

I shall wade a little in these plashe, quit fore I plunge into the Ocean of *Cronique*, Conquests.

Henry the seventh, a wise and valiant Prince, was much disturbed by those two Impostors, *Perkin Warbeck* and *Lambert Simnel*. *Warbeck's* quarrel was espoused by the Scots, but to little purpose: for a Peace was soon concluded betwixt the two Kings, on condition that *Warbeck* should be sent packing, and that *James* the fourth the Scots King should marry the Lady *Margret* King *Henry's* daughter. Great debate was in the Council about this Match: some were against it, alledging, that in case the Kings issue should fail, *England* would become subject to *Scotland*. But to this the King wisely returned: That the weaker must ever bow to the stronger; and *England* being the stronger, *Scotland* must submit. This was but discourse: for it could not be then imagined, (the King having two hopeful sons, *Arthur* and *Henry*) that the Lady *Margret* should be the Root Stem from whence should spring thofe branches which were to over-spread the Nations, as it afterwards came. and

their ^{names.} But notwithstanding
(a Kin^{ce} made by the said Marriage,
the days of King *Henry* the eighth (who
he was busied with his Wars in France
the Scots invade *England*, and were en-
countred by the Earl of *Surrey* at *Flood*
Field, where the success remained doubt-
ful a great while: but at last, the Victory
fell to the English, who that day slew the
Scots King, the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, 14
Earls, 14 Barons, and 12000 Gentlemen
and common Souldiers; onely with the
loss of 1500. at so easie a rate was this
great Victory purchased. By this and
several other Blows, King *Henry* got many
of the Scottish Nobility into his custody.
And considering how their frequent in-
cursions did impede and frustrate his de-
signes abroad, he thought it expedient to
use a means to beget amity betwixt the
Nations; to which end, he propounded a
Match betwixt his son *Edward*, and *Mary*
the young Princess of *Scotland*. This mo-
tion found so good acceptance at first, that
it was concluded upon, and ratified by
the Parliament, with a special Instru-
ment under the hands of the Scottish No-
bility who by this means having gotten
their

their liberty from restraint, soon after quit
themselves of their former engagement,
and espoused their young Lady to the
Dolphin of *France*: which so enraged
our young King *Edward* the sixth, (his fa-
ther *Henry* being dead) that he resolved,

*Seeing the Foxes skin could not prevail,
To piece it with the Lions tayl.*

And to that end, sends an Army under the
Duke of *Somerset* into *Scotland*, to avenge
himself on them for their perfidious deal-
ing. This Army exceeded not 18000 in
number; (too small in appearance to deal
with a whole Kingdom:) but greatness
of courage supplying the paucity of their
number, they encountered the Scots near
Muscleborough, where (notwithstanding
they doubled the English in multitude, be-
sides 3000 Monks, Fryers and Kirk-men,
armed both with VVord and Sword) they
got the day, and obtained a most compleat
Victory. But while they beat the bush,
the bird was flown into *France*.

Here many of the Scottish Nobility
were taken prisoners; one of which be-
ing brought to the English General, and
asked

asked by him how he liked the Match, answered wittily, *Very well, but not in manner of wooing.*

This Battel, and that of *Flodden* (four and thirty years before) were fought upon the Ninth of September: afterwards those of *Worcester* and *Dunbar* were both upon the Third of the same month: so that that month seems to be more ominous to the Scottish Nation, than any in the whole Kalendar.

This Digression hath been made, only to shew what endeavours there have been all along to unite these Kingdoms under one Head: but nothing could effect it, until King *James* came in by succession, being son to that Queen *Mary* formerly espoused to *Edward* the sixth.

This Line was thought perpetual, as the Tye indissoluble, according to the Motto upon King *James* his Coyn; *Deus conjunxit, nemo separet.* But he that rules in the Kingdoms of men, hath been pleased to over-rule their designs, by suddenly cutting off of that Line, and dissolving that League which was esteemed inviolable. By this means, the Scots began to play *Rex*, (as we have heard

part already:) but how and by whom they were reduced under the obedience and subjection of the English (as at this day) is our next work to shew; they being (as sings ingenious Mr. *Waller's* Panegyrick)

*A Race unconquer'd, by their Clime made bold,
The Caledonians arm'd with want and cold,
Have by a Fate indulgent to his fame,
Been, from all Ages, kept for him to tame:
Whom the old Roman wall so ill confin'd,
With a new Chain of Garisons he binde.
Here forraign Gold no more shall make them come;
For Cromwel's Iron holds them fast at home.*

Cromwel was the man by whom this stupendious work was wrought, who being now constituted Generalissimo for the Parliament of *England*, (as we have seen before) made this improvement of his new honour, adding this Conquest to his former Heroick achievements. And what order he observed in the carrying on of this business, we shall now relate, beginning where we left off before.

The Army being come up all together in a Body, and quarrered upon the very edge

edge of *Scotland*, (as afore is shewed) *July 22. 1650*, the Lord General drew them forth to a Rendezvous upon a hill within *Bermick* bounds, from whence they had a full view of the adjacent parts of *Scotland*, the Stage whereon they were to act their parts in the ensuing Tragedy. Here he made a Speech to his Souldiers, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous; and then not to doubt of a blessing from God, and all encouragement from himself: which was answered with loud and unanimous Acclamations from them; who going thus chearfully about their work, it was the more likely to prosper in their hands, as indeed it did.

Upon this, the Lord General marched his Army into *Scotland*, quartering that night in the field near *Mordington*, where he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the Camp, (for the better conservation of good order and discipline) That none on pain of death should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any in *Scotland* not in Arms; and withal That no Souldier should presume (without special license) to straggle half a mile from the Army. Hence they dislodge for

Copperspeith; thence to *Dunbar*, where they are recruited with provisions from the English ships sent thither for that purpose; the Country affording them none: for the Scotch Estates had taken a course beforehand, to sweep all the Country betwixt *Bermick* and *Edinburgh*, of all things that might yeeld any comfort or succour to the English.

But this entertainment was not at all strange to the English, it being but what they expected; neither did it in the least appall or discourage them. Their next remove is to *Haddington*, twelve miles from *Edinburgh*: and all this, without the least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an Enemy in Arms. But although they could not be seen, yet they were heard of, giving out that they would meet the English at *Gladsmore*. The Lord General prepared to meet them accordingly; and knowing his adversary exceeded him in number, he laboured to possess the Moor before them, to gain the advantage of ground, in case they should meet him; which it seems they never intended, having no great stomach to fight. Upon this, Major-Gen. *Lambert* and Colonel

Colonel *Whalley* (men of approved courage and valour) with 1400 Horse, were sent as a Van-guard to *Muscleborough*: Major *Hayns* commanding the Forlorn, faced the Scots within a mile of their Trenches. The next day, the Lord General with the main Body drew up before *Edinburgh*, where some bickering happened about the possession of King *Arthur's* Hill, a place within a mile of that Citie; which the English obtained, and soon after possessed themselves of a Church, and certain houses. But notwithstanding all these provocations, the Scots would not forsake their Trenches, but lay upon the catch and according to the Proverb, *Harm watch, harm catch*, so it fell out with them. For the Lord General seeing no good to be done this way, and that his Army was much wearied out with hard duty and continual rain, drawing off to *Muscleborough* there to refresh and recruit his men with provisions; the Scots would needs have one snap at parting, and to that end came powdering down upon the last Reserve, the English Rere-guard, and had like to have over-run them: but Major-General *Lambert*, and Colonel *Whalley*, with

giment, came in to their rescue, routing the Scots, and pursuing them to their Trenches.

In this Encounter, *Lambert* received two wounds; and the rest came not off altogether Scot-free: for they left behind them one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, and some Captains, with a few private souldiers for company. By this defeat, the English had an opportunity to march off quietly to *Muscleborough* that night, although in a wet and weary condition, expecting also every moment to be set upon, as indeed at last they were: for Col. *Straughan* and *Montgomery* very slyly followed them in the rere with the Kirk's Regiment of Horse, and some others, to the number of 1500. all armed with Backs, Brests, Head-pieces, Pistols, Swords and Lances; as if they had intended to inflict some strange new-fashion'd deaths upon the English.

July 30. about three or four in the morning, *Straughan* gave a furious Camisado on a Body of the English in their quarters; which being sudden, did somewhat disorder a Regiment of Horse: but the Alarm being given, raised so many Eng-

lish

lish spirits, that soon frightened away the Scots, pursuing them to their own homes. In this encounter were killed and taken about 200. with seven Officers of quality. *Straughan* himself, because he could manage his horse no better, was fain to get it on foot to *Edinburgh* with shame enough.

Here the Lord General, to let the Scots see what a generous Enemy they had to deal withal, discharged the chiefest of the prisoners taken, and sent them to *Edinburgh* in his own Coach: which not only begot him great applause, but rendered much to the rectification of those who had harboured so much prejudice against him, by reason of those strange reports broached of his pretended cruelty.

Now the Armies provisions being well nigh spent, they retire again to *Dunbarton* there to renew their supplies from the Ships attending for that purpose by order from the English Parliament; who knowing victuals to be the life of War (money being onely the sinews) took care to provide a continued course of Recruits.

After convenient supply and refreshment

ment, returned immediately towards *Edinburgh*, to accompany the Scots in their Rejoycing; they being then very seriously keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance; imagining that the English Army was quite gone; as if they had come onely to see how they did, or whether *Edinburgh* stood where it did when they were there last. This unexpected visit spoiled their sport, and made them change their note, notwithstanding the presence of their King, then but newly come thither from *St. Johnstons*; who (although he had been lately crowned) had not a Crown in his pocket; the Kirk it seems thinking him not yet fit to be trusted with money, till he had more amply lamented the sins of his father, and put on those Yokes they were preparing for him; which he fearing would not prove very easie, made no haste to take upon him.

About this time, the General Assembly (with *David Lesley* their General) sent to the Lord General *Cromwel* a Declaration (as *Lesley* call'd it) containing the state of the Quarrel in which they were to fight, (as if they had such a minde to it!) desiring

siring that this their Declaration might be publickly known. Whether their request were fulfill'd then or no, I know not: I shall so far gratifie them now, as to endeavour the same, by reciting it briefly, as followeth.

That the General Assembly considering there might be just grounds of stumbling, from the Kings Majesties refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future in reference to the Cause of God, the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant party their quarrel or interest, but that they will fight upon their former Principles, for the Cause of God, and their Kingdom: and therefore they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further then he shall disclaim his and his fathers opposition to the work of God, and the enemies thereof: And withal, that they would with convenient speed consider of the Papers sent to them from Oliver Cromwel, and vindicate themselves from the falsehoods contained therein.

Very short, but not very sweet; it carries a sting in its tayl. The imputation of falsehood might much more justly and properly have been kept at home, all things considered. The Lord General Cromwel returns them this Answer:

That the Army continued the same they had profest themselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to their own souls; it being no part of their business to hinder them in the VVorship of God according to their Consciences, as by his Word they ought: And that they should be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them by the Covenant. But that under the pretence of the Covenant mistaken, a King should be taken in by them, and imposed on the English, and this called *The Cause of God and the Kingdom*; and this done upon the satisfaction of Gods people in both Nations, as alleadged, together with a disowning of Malignants, although the Head of them be received, who at this very instant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and Prince Rupert at Sea on a Malignant

lignant account, the French and Irish
 ships daily making depredations upon
 the English coasts, and all by virtue of
 his Commissions: and therefore the Ar-
 my cannot believe, that whilst Malig-
 nants fighting and plotting against them
 on the one side, and the Scots declaring
 for him on the other, should not be an
 espousing of a Malignant Interest or
 Quarrel, but a meer fighting on former
 Grounds and Principles. If the state
 of the Quarrel be thus, and you say you
 resolve to fight the Army, you will have
 opportunity to do that, else what means
 our abode here? And our hope is in
 the Lord, &c.

Thus the cause of the VVar was stated
 as if the Scots had been ignorant of the
 grounds and reasons of the English Ar-
 mies coming into their Country. Now
 there remains nothing but fighting: and
 how well they quit themselves therein
 is next to be shewn.

The Lord General seeing that by no
 means he could provoke the Enemy to
 an engagement, (having sufficiently victu-
 alled his men at *Muscleborough*)

17. 1650, he advanced, and pitched his
 Camp on *Pencland Hills*. In this march,
 the Scots drew forth several Bodies of
 Horse, and faced the English: but they
 were so wary as to keep out of harms way,
 not coming within Gun-shot. The Army
 having taken up their Quarters on the
 hills, two Troops of Dragoons are sent
 out, to dispossess the Enemy of *Collington-*
House. About this time, a Serjeant of
 Colonel *Cox* his Regiment (with three o-
 thers his associates) was called to account
 for plundering a house, and stealing a
 Cloak: which being proved, the Serje-
 ant was condemned to be hang'd; and,
 notwithstanding the scarcity of trees in
 those parts, the Sentence was executed on
 him, for an example to others. The other
 three Souldiers found mercy, and obtain-
 ed pardon. So careful was the General
 to preserve the Country, according as he
 had promis'd them before, in his Decla-
 ration.

Then the Scots drew forth on the west
 side of *Edinburgh*, between the river
Leith and the Sea, to the number of two
 or three thousand Horse; conceiving that
 the Army intended to possess a pass over
 the

the said River. Which the Lord General seeing, he drew forth a Forlorn to engage them, himself in person leading, to shew the Scots his readiness to fight them. Approaching near to their Body, one that knew the Lord General fired a Carbine at him, but timerously: which he seeing, called out and told him, That if he had been one of his Souldiers, he should have been cashier'd, for firing at that distance. But the truth is, these daring actions in Generals, favour more of valour than discretion: Bullets distinguish not betwixt the meanest private Souldier, and the most puissant General, if he come in their way. Hence it was, that the people would not suffer *David* to go out in person. 'Twas upon an over-bold discovery of *Popinham's* strength, that *Gustavus Adolphus* (the Scourge of the Austrians) was killed, and with him the hopes of those great things expected from him. The Head of an Army (such is the General) being once cut off, the Body (especially in an enemies Country) must needs languish and pine away.

The Scots having done their business, which it seems was onely to breathe their

horses, they returned back again to their Quarters.

Aug. 19. part of the English Army storm'd *Red-Hall*, and took it; it being a Garison situate within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*, having about 80 Foot to defend it. This was done in the sight of the Scots whole Army, yet not a man stirr'd towards the relief of the place.

Aug. 26, the Scots sent to the Lord General, desiring a Conference betwixt some of themselves, and some Officers appointed by him. Which being granted, and a convenient place appointed, the Lord *Wariston* Secretary of State, *Sir John Brown*, Colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Douglas* a Minister, with certain others, attended for that purpose. The main business of their Meeting, was to wipe off a pretended aspersion cast upon them, and spread over both Armies, intimating that they kept themselves in Trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And the better to clear themselves of these calumnies, they let the English know, That when opportunity served, it should be seen that they wanted not courage to give them Battel.

The next morning, the Scots (as if they meant to be as good as their words; which had they been, they had crossed a very ancient Proverb) strike up for a march, seeming either to bend their course for *Sterling*, or as if they would in good earnest (according to the purport of the Embassage they had sent the day before, lest it should not be known) fight the English.

No sooner are they on their march, but the Lord General prepares to meet them, thinking that although they had often dallied with him before, yet now surely they would be serious, and shew some fair play. The common souldiers were posselt with the like apprehensions, being over-joy'd at the very thoughts of fighting; and in order thereunto, they presently take down their Tents, lay aside their Knapacks, and disburthen themselves of every thing whatsoever that might be an impediment to their activity.

Being thus prepared, the English approach the Scots Army, verily intending to engage them: but it seems they had no minde to come to it, but rather to shelter

shelter themselves in some new lurking hole, (notwithstanding their late confident disclaiming of any such practice.) Accordingly, when the English drew neer the Enemy, they found a great Bog and a deep Ditch to make such a separation, as for the present cut off all possibility of conjunction with them, and consequently of engaging them, without running such hazards as were not necessary at that time. The Lord General seeing he could not come at them in person, sent a thundring message to them by the mouth of his Cannon.

All that night, both the Armies continued in Arms; and the next morning, being the 28 of *August*, the great Guns roared on both sides, for about the space of an hour. But the English Lord General seeing that this would do no good, and knowing that it would but waste precious time to no purpose, to stand pelting at an Enemy at that distance, he therefore drew off from thence, to try some other conclusion, if by any means he might get the Enemy into a fair field, where the business might be disputed on equal terms. In order to which, marching

towards their former Quarters on *Pearland* hills, no sooner were they there arrived, but news came that the Scots were upon their march to possess *Muscleborough* and *Preston-pans*, whereby to cut off provisions from the English Army. The souldiers hearing this, begin to bestir themselves; and again taking down their Tents, take up their Arms; holding it to be high time so to do, considering that now they must either fight or starve.

To prevent the Enemies designe, the Lord General advanced that night with his whole Army towards *Muscleborough*, it being very stormy & tempestuous weather, without any molestation from the Enemy. Being there, they are supplied from the ships: and many of them being infirm and diseased, by reason of hard duty, and unseasonable weather; 500 were sent on board; which yet did not clear the Army of those distempered ones.

The Enemy all this while dogging the English in the Rere, watched all opportunities to distress them. But the Lord General taking into consideration the sad condition of his Army, occasioned by sickness and indisposition of body, resolves

to retreat with them to *Dunbar*, and there (by Garisoning it) to lie securely for some time, till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of Horse and Foot from *Berwick*.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Army (*Aug. 30.*) set forward toward *Hadington*. And by that time the van-Brigade of Horse had taken up their quarters, the Scots (by a nimble march) were fallen in the rere, and put them into disorder: But wanting courage to prosecute the advantage; and withal, a cloud overshadowing the Moon, gave the English Horse an opportunity to inextricate themselves of that Labyrinth wherein they had like to have been entangled, and to recover the main Body.

Being at *Hadington*, in danger to be assaulted daily by the Enemy, the Lord General caused a strict Watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. For the Scots were sufficiently sensible of the crazie condition of the Army, and thought they had now an opportunitie to distress them, (they acting the Offensive part) that and by degrees they should weary them out, and at last utterly destroy them: and to that end,

end, (conceiving that now they had more then ordinary advantage) about midnight, *Aug. 30.* they attempted the English quarters on the west-end of the Town. But notwithstanding their confidence, they were soon set further off.

The next day, the Lord General drew out into the open Champaign on the South-side of the Town, resolving (notwithstanding the indisposition of body in his Army) to venture all upon the event of a Battel. But the Scots having no minde to that sport, therefore (after three hours tarriance in expectation of their coming, all in vain) the English prosecuted their fore-intended march for *Dunbar*.

The Scots being re-inforced with the addition of three Regiments, yet again came in the Rere of the English; and seeing them lodg'd in *Dunbar*, gathered upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud menacing such a showre to the English, as would wash them out of their Country, not out of the world: and to make sure work, (imagining they had them now at a Pound) they being well acquainted with the Country, set a strong Guard upon the Pass at *Copperspeith*, (a place where

stout men may obstruct the passage of fourty) thereby to intercept or hinder all provisions or relief from *Berwick*, or perhaps to hinder the English from running away, lest any thing should be wanting to compleat their (imagined) neer approaching Victory. For (as a

late ingenious * Author hath * *R. H. his discourse of England.*
it, writing upon this subject) *The Scots from those high hills*

that encompassed this sickly remnant, and which they had possessed themselves of, look down on the English as their sure prey. But (as the same Author goes on) how much better had they done, had they levelled those mountains which surrounded their wretched enemies, and which proved such slight defences against a vertue backt with necessity, and so made them an easier passage to their homes, who by reason of their sickness did very much want it?

And no marvel the Scots were thus confident. For besides that they were stout and hearty, in their own Country, and upon advantageous ground, (in all which respects the English were at a loss) they doubled the English in number; they being 6000 Horse & 16000 Foot, where-
as

as the other were but 7500 Foot & 3000 Horse. Two to one is great oddes; yet (as the case then stood) they must either fight manfully, or tamely give themselves a prey to their insulting Enemy; which the English not having been accustomed to do, knew not how to begin now. Neither did all these straits, difficulties and disadvantages in the least deter the Lord General, who as a Rock remained immoveable in this Sea of dangers; and who, considering that the present necessity required more than an ordinary courage, and that this must be his Master-piece or Misfortune, after he had well view'd the Enemy, and found that they had drawn down about two thirds of their Left wing of Horse to the Right, causing them to edge down toward the Sea, shogging also their Foot and Train to the Right, (a posture not well to be understood, unless it were by this means to make short work, and to catch the English as it were in a Purse-net) saw that it was no time to use many words, and that small debates must produce great actions: and therefore after a short consultation had with his chief Officers, it was concluded

to take such a course as might let the Enemy see it was in vain for them to go about to abridge them of their liberty, by any power or policie that they could use.

The better to do this, the Lord General drew forth six Regiments of Horse, with three Regiments and a half of Foot, to march in the Van: the Horse were commanded by Major-General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; the Foot, by Commissary-General *Whalley*, and Colonel *Monk*. To second these, were Colonel *Pride's* Brigade, and Colonel *Overton's* Brigade. Two Regiments of Horse moreover brought up the Rere, with the Cannon.

All things being thus in a readiness, the Souldiers desired nothing more, then the coming of the time when they should fall on, that so they might shew their Valour to purpose. It was resolved (*Sept. 3.*) to fall on by break of day: but (by reason of some impediments) it was delayed till six of the clock; at which time, Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Commissary *Whalley*, and Colonel *Twisleton*, (all stout resolute Commanders) gave a furious charge upon the
Scots

Scots Army, who stoutly sustained the same, and gallantly disputed the business at the sword's point. The English Foot in the mean time fired roundly upon the Enemies Foot, but with more courage than success; for being over-powred, they were forc'd into some disorder: notwithstanding, they soon recovered their ground, being reinforc'd by the Generals own Regiment.

And now the Fight grew hot on all sides. The English Horse flew about like Furies, doing wonderful execution, inso-much that the place soon became an *Aceldama*, or field of blood. The Foot were not behinde in their capacities: for the Pikes gallantly sustained the push of their Enemies, and the Muskets seemed by their often firings to have a designe to alter the property of the Climate from the Frigid to the Torrid Zone. Neither were the English more free of their Powder, than the Scots (especially *Lawyers* Regiment of Highlanders) were of their Bullets, until their Horse being totally dispers'd, and enforc'd to quit the Field, left the Foot exposed to all dangers: which they seeing, began to shift for themselves as well

well as they could, throwing away their Arms, and betaking themselves to their heels: a poor shift; it being better to fight a day, then run an hour. To be short; the English at last so far prevailed, as to give a compleat Overthrow, by the utter routing of that Army, which had but lately triumphed in a confident assurance of Victory.

This was the work of one hour; but it ended not here: for the Rout begetting a Run, the fugitives were pursued eight miles from the place. Of the Enemy were slain in all, about 3000; many prisoners of quality taken, besides 10000 private souldiers, with 15000 Arms, all their Train of Artillery, great and small, the Leather-Guns not excepted: and for standing Trophies of this great Victory, 200 of their Colours were sent up to the Parliament at *London*, who caused them to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, where they remain till this day.

As Sea-sick passengers in a boisterous Ocean, receive as it were new life and spirit upon safe arrival at their desired Port: so the English Army, who had been tossed up and down in a strange Country, and

and almost spent by hard duty and the unfavourableness of the Climate, were now revived by this miraculous Victory. And the Lord General seeing their courage revived, he up, resolved it should not flat for want of exercise; and therefore (the better able to improve this Victory, and to secure what he had gotten) he dispatches away *Lambert* with six Regiments of Horse and nine of Foot, to attack *Edinburgh* the Metropolis of *Scotland*, and secure *Leith* that so the English ships might thence readily and without obstruction yeeld necessary supplies to the Army. The Lord General himself remained some small time at *Dunbar*, to dispose of prisoners, and to order other matters as the occasion required. And the prisoners being so numerous, that it seemed to be as much trouble to retain them as it was to take them, the Lord General discharged neer upon 5000 of them (most sick and wounded) the rest (much about the same number) being conveyed to *Berwick* by four Troops of Colonel *Hacker's* Horse.

Having given this account of the captives, a word or two of those that escaped by flight. Their General it seems was

one of that number, and none of those that made the least haste neither, or else he could not have been at *Edinburgh* by ten of the clock that morning whereon the Battel was fought; outstripping his Lieutenant-General, who got not thither till the afternoon. But if they had made less haste, they might have come before they had been welcom, unless they had brought better news; the Garison and inhabitants being very much damp't at their report, as also those of *Leith*; inso-much that *Edinburgh* was presently quit by its Garison, and *Leith* resolved to receive the Victors, not knowing how to keep them out. But though the English had thus possessed the Town of *Edinburgh*, the Castle remained untoucht; which being esteemed impregnable, and commanding the Town, the Scots hoped that the English would soon finde their new quarters too hot to hold them; and so much the rather, for that the said Castle (besides its natural strength) was well manned, had a considerable Artillery on the walls, and store of all sorts of provisions; Colonel *William Dundas* being its Governour. However, the same day the

Scots deserted the Town, the English under *Lambert* took possession of the same, as also of *Leith*; in both which places they found several Pieces of Ordnance, many Arms, and considerable provisions, which were too heavie for the Scots to take with them, because of their haste. But how well the new Garison of *Edinburgh* agreed with their neighbours in the Castle, we shall hear afterwards.

Upon this, the Lord General coming up with the remainder of the Army, the Scots were in despair of nestling there again; and therefore made *Sterling* their next refuge; whither resorted those that had escaped at *Dunbar*, to help to piece up their shattered Army, that so in a second Encounter they might endeavour to recover their lost credit. To this purpose all recruits were raised by the Committee of Estates in all places under their power; their Officers are likewise new moulded, new ones being taken in, and old ones laid aside, according as they saw occasion: this change being not in inferiour Officers only, but among the great Commanders likewise: for old *Leven* was laid aside, but *David Lesley* were continued.

But this their rallying and recruiting, chopping and changing, signified little: for (as if they had been possest with a like spirit with those infatuated Jews in *Jerusalem*, when that City was closely begirt by the Romanes) notwithstanding that the English had given them that sore blow at *Dunbar*, driven them from their Metropolis, and were still improving those advantages; the Scots, in stead of joyning heart and hand in defending their Country against so prevailing an adversary, split themselves into so many factions and parties, that it would require some curiosity to discriminate them. The most notable were these: *Straghan* and *Car* in the West, who declared against the Kings party, and were called *Remonstrators*; another party were for King and Kirk, as *David Lesley*, Major Gen. *Holborn*, and those in *Fife*; and a third sort were purely for the King; these with *Middleton* keep the High-lands.

This Kingdom being thus divided, was not likely long to stand. For animosities growing higher and higher among themselves, little care was taken to repress the English, who ranged at pleasure about the

Country. And the Lord General having his Head-quarters at *Edinburgh*, and observing what course the Scots steered, he was not idle; but having refreshed his men *Sept. 14.* he drew out the greatest part of his Army for *Sterling*, and faced the Castle, having at first some thoughts to storm it; but finding that the Horse could not well second the Foot, he desisted for that time, and returned back to the Head-quarters. Whither being come, orders were given for carrying all the Boats in the *Firth* to *Leith*, for prevention of the Scots Ferrying over into *Fyfe*, to joyn with the Enemy there.

And since (according to the Proverb) of *Idleness comes no goodness*; therefore, to keep his men in action, and that they might the better acquaint themselves with the Country, the Lord General (his work going on well before *Edinburgh-Castle*, of which a particular account shall be given in its place) marcht away six Regiments of Foot, and nine of Horse and Dragoons for *Glasgow*, a City of a pleasant site upon a River navigable for small Boats, which usually bring up provisions from *Patrickston*, ten miles thence, where ships of good

good burden may ride. In *Glasgow*, the streets and houses are more neat and clean than those of *Edinburgh*; it being also one of the chiefest Universities in *Scotland*.

By the way of *Linlithgow*, the Lord General sent a Paper to the Committee of Estates, to try once more what might be done by fair means: a copie whereof was likewise at the same time dispatched away to Colonel *Car* and *Straughan*, to the same end.

Little else was remarkable in this Expedition, then the taking of a small Garrison neer *Kelsith*, a place famous for being the Stage whereon sometime the valiant *Montross* had acted such great things, as even shook the foundations of the Kirk; and had subverted it, if the English had not in time stretched out their hand to support the same. This heroick Champion, notwithstanding he wrought such great things with small Forces, (ever encountering considerable Armies with a handful, so that not one of his men could be exempted from continual duty) yet could not avoid the frowns of adverse fortune; wherein nevertheless, although his body were captured

privated, his spirit remained free, bearing up above the highest affronts of his enraged enemies, who loaded him with all ignominy that Malice it self could invent, first inflicting on him a most reproachful death; and next, mangling his dead body, the quarters whereof they caused be hung up in several places, for public view. On the Tolbooth at *Glasgow* he lost one of his legs, which the English (remembering what he was) took down and buried privately.

Now the Lord General retires to *Edinburgh*, the season admitting of no considerable action, but onely what necessary required. And a necessary work they went about, in suppressing a company of sturdy knaves called Moss-Troopers, who daily plaid their pranks with great boldness, and (by the treachery and connivance of the Country-people) murdered many of the English Souldiers, especially straglers: nay, their confidence grew so high, as to steal some of the Train-horses belonging to the Army. To that end a Proclamation was published by the Lord General, to this effect:

That

That finding many of the Army were not onely spoiled and robbed, but also others barbarously butchered and slain, by a sort of Outlaws, not under the discipline of any Army; and finding that all tenderneß to the Country produced no other effect, then their compliance with, and protection of such persons: therefore considering that it is in the Countries power to detect and discover them; and perceiving their motion to be ordinary, by their invitation and intelligence of Country-people; therefore he declared, That where-ever these enormities should be committed for the future, life should be required for life, and a plenary satisfaction for the goods thus stollen, of those Parishes and places where the fact should be committed, unless they did discover and produce the offender.

Presently after the publishing of this Proclamation, Colonel *Monk* with a commanded party of Foot, four Pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece, was sent to hunt these Beasts of prey. And upon information that *Derlton-House* near *Haddington* was one of their Nests, *Monk* and

and *Lambert* bent their Force towards it, and approaching it an evening, by the next day they had planted their Batteries whence they plying the House with great Guns, the Mortar-piece also being unoccupied: but all wrought little effect till at last one of the Granadoes falling to the house, broke the Iron bar of the inner gate, and forced it open, throwing the Draw-bridge into the Moat; it also killed the Moss-Troopers Lieutenant. This rough handling made them cry out for Quarter, profering to quit the House so they might save their lives. But the beggars not being admitted to be chosen at last submit to mercy. Their number was thirty, and their Captain one *Watt* who (with two others of the most desperate of them) was presently shot to death, and the rest made prisoners.

This place being thus reduced, *Montrose* takes with him 600 Foot for *Roslane Castle*; where at first he found opposition, but upon second thoughts it was yielded to mercy.

From these less considerable achievements, the English proceed to greater. For the heat of their courage made them

insensible (as it were) of the coldness of the weather; so that instead of lurking in Winter-quarters, (as is usual in such a season, in warmer climates too) they stir abroad to finde out the Enemy. And now they draw near to that grand party in the West of *Scotland*, sometimes commanded by *Car* and *Straughan*, who had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of King, Kirk and State, publishing a Declaration containing the Reasons of their so doing; which was to this purpose:

THAT that which is obvious in the first place among the sins of the Land, is the late proceedings with the King: That they would distinguish betwixt their duty and their sin: their duty was to use all lawful ways for reclaiming the King, and to own his interest accordingly as he owned and prosecuted the Cause: that it was their sin, and the sin of the Kingdom, that the King had walked in the ways of his fathers opposition to the work of Reformation; and yet that they should receive him, notwithstanding his peace made with the Irish, the Commission given to *James Graham* (meaning *Montrose*) for invasion of Scotland; and after

all this, to assure him by Commissioners the exercise of Royal power, upon his bare profession to joyn in the Cause and Covenant without any further proof of his repentance or convincing evidences of the reality of his professions. That the Treaty was continued with him, after his dealing was discovered in the actual invasion of the Kingdom. That the King himself did still continue the Malignant party in the Kingdom, cleaving from them, and following their counsels: and that not done onely in the Kingdom of Scotland but also abroad, by keeping correspondence with the Lord of Ormond and the Earl of Newcastle. That he refused to sign the Declaration offered to him by the Committee of Estates and General Assembly, and it was extorted from him, and he of necessity enforced to take it. That he still pursued the same designs since the Treaty as before, endeavouring to have the Malignants in the Kingdom in power and trust, as it appears in his frequent conversing and correspondence with them, notwithstanding that he was discharged the Court by Act of Parliament. By these things it is manifest that the King hath not prosecuted the Cause of God, but rather in opposition to the

of God and the Covenant. They therefore according to the Declaration of Kirk and State the 13 of August 1650. disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, both old and new, and declare that they cannot own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt him and the enemy against whom they were to hazard their lives.

This Remonstrance was sent to the Committee of Estates then at Sterling, the 25 of November 1650. where it bred great divisions and dissentings amongst them. Much debate there was, what to do in it: to approve thereof, would adde many more fractions to their already-broken State, and make all desperate: to shew an utter dislike of it, would put the Remonstrators upon securing themselves, lest if they should fall under the lash of their own Estates, they might be worse handled then by being in the power of the English. But at last they agreed upon a Declaration, which was drawn up, and voted to be sent to the Commissioners of the Kirk; wherein they declared,

That the said Remonstrance, as it related

ted to the Parliament and Civil Judicaries, was scandalous and injurious to his Majesty's Person, and injurious to his Authority: and that it held out seeds of division and was of a dangerous consequence, and withal dishonourable to the Kingdom, in far as it tended to a breach of the Treaty with the King's Majestie at Breda, approved by the Parliament and General Assembly: that it strengthened the hand of the Enemy, giving him wherewithal to justify his unjust invasion; and weakened the hands of many honest men. Lastly, that through the subtil contrivance thereof, many religious Gentlemen, Officers and Ministers have been thereby ensnared.

This was backt by the Assembly of the Kirk, who signified their concurrence with the Estates in dislike of the Remonstrance; but so nevertheless, as (if possible) to bring *Car* and his party over by fair means: to which end, many Papers pass'd betwixt them, and all means were used to compose differences.

The English Lord General observing these Western dissenters to agree with him in many particulars, sent them sever

ral invitations to come in to him. Who (being proud of so many courtings from all sides) grew so high thereupon, as to think themselves strong enough to defend their own Cause against all opposers. But as if Divisions had not already sufficiently torn that Nation, this Party, who had lately made so great a rent therein, soon after subdivide themselves; *Stranaghan* withdrawing himself, and in a small time closing with the English. So that *Car* commands all now himself; and how he behaved himself in his command, we shall presently see.

Upon this Party the English Lord General had a special eye, they quartering near; who if they could not be made friends, might prove dangerous enemies, and bad neighbours. At last, after many fruitless endeavours used to draw them over to him, he resolves (notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, it being *December*) to force them to it, or to do worse. Which was strangely effected, in a short time after. For about the end of *November*, Major-General *Lambert*, and Commissary-General *Whalley*, with five Regiments of Horse, were ordered

dered by the General to march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the South-side of *Clouid*; himself in the mean time marching from *Edinburgh* on the North-side where he tarried the greatest part of the day: but having good intelligence where *Lambert* and his party were, and the weather being very bad, he returned back. Whereof when Colonel *Car* had notice as also that *Lambert* had taken up his quarters at *Hamilton*, he conceived there now a fit opportunity was offered him making sure work with him, he being disjoined from the Body of the Army, and supinely sleeping (as he dreamed) without any thoughts of an enemy. With this confident perswasion, *Car* sets upon a sudden March in the night, with about 1500 Horse; and before day (making more haste then good speed) he furiously breaks into *Lambert's* Quarters; and finding no opposition at his first entry, he was emboldened to go up to the middle of the Town; where a Captain with about 40 souldiers having taken the Alarm, had suddenly mounted: these (being favoured by a tree that lay cross the street) gave a check to their career, till the whole

Garison was alarm'd. The suddenness of the business did somewhat amaze the English: but having soon recollected themselves, they resume their wonted courage, being also very much animated by the example of their Officers forwardness. And to make their work the more perfect, part of their Forces being left in the Town, to engage the Enemy, and to secure the Rere, the residue drew out, that if possible they might surround the Enemies whole party; who making a timely discovery of this designe, very cunningly fac'd about and fled. Though this encounter lasted not long, yet of the Scots were slain near upon 100, and as many taken prisoners; some few of whom might well be accounted many, considering their quality: for among them was *Car* himself, his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain-Lieutenant.

This Victory was not so well won, but it was as well followed; for the chase continued as far as *Ayre*, where also were routed a party of 150, which was the chief remains of the Remonstrators. This Success came very seasonably; and the more considerable it was, by how much the more difficult it would have been to engage

gage them against their will: for they knowing the Country well, and having the people on their side, could march about at pleasure; when the English durst not follow without a great part of their Army for fear of *Lesley*, who then lay at *Sterling* with the Scotch Army, ready to make use of all advantages that might serve for his purpose.

Immediately upon this, followed the Rendition of *Edinburgh-Castle* (the most considerable strong hold in all *Scotland*). It is seated upon a very high Precipice over-looking and commanding all places about it; insomuch that many times the English Souldiers in their Quarters were galled with the Shot sent from the great Guns into *Edinburgh*.

When the Lord General came first before it, which was immediately after the Rout at *Dunbar*, he sent in a Summons to the Governour Colonel *Will. Dundas*; which wrought no effect: presently after several Papers were sent in to invite the Ministers to come forth to their several charges; but they refusing so civil an offer, the Lord General then seriously considered with his chief Officers which way

way to reduce by force both them and it: knowing, that if it should continue thus in the Scots hands, his own work would be very much retarded thereby. Accordingly, the place being viewed, nothing could be seen to encourage the attempting of it by storm. But as there is many more ways then one to win; so every one of these ways that carryed probability with it, was debated. At last a resolution was taken, That seeing this impregnable place could not be beaten down, endeavours should be used to blow it up: to that end, Miners both Scotch and English, were sent for, to carry on the work: In order to this resolution, about the end of *September*, the Galleries were begun in the night; which was no sooner perceived by those in the Castle, but they very angrily fired upon it with five great Guns, and several vollies of small Shot; which nothing hindered the English, whose indefatigable pains wrought through the earth, until at last coming to the main rock, it put them to a stand, finding it not to be of that mould they imagined. Yet could not this dismay those, whose resolutions far surmounting the difficulty of their

their present design ; for finding the mattock did not perform its part, they by other means, made holes in the stones, and filling them full of Powder, made them fly by firing.

But the Lord General taking notice how tedious the mining work went on, and withal considering the uncertainty of the wished event when finished ; therefore, to make a quick dispatch, he gave order for raising a Mount not far from the Castle upon a rising ground, whereon to plant a Battery, that so the Enterprize might be carryed on above ground as well as beneath. The sight of this, very much amazed *Dundas* the Governour, who now perceived what a vanity it was to withstand the English industry. Yet to quit himself of that great trust reposed in him by his superiours, and withal to cherish the hopes of his Country-men, whose eyes were generally upon him, he did the utmost to answer the expectations of those that thought this bone might go near to break *Cromwells* teeth : who here in were much deceived ; for it could do no more then whet his appetite, and make him long for the possession of this strong

strong Fort ; since the greater the opposition be, the more is a great spirit raised thereby.

The Battery being now raised to a convenient height (in spite of all impediments) by the unwearied labours of the Souldiers, and all things necessary prepared, four Mortar-Pieces and six battering Guns were drawn from *Leith*, and quickly mounted against the Castle. Now the word of command was onely wanting, which the Lord General deferred to give, until he had sent to the Governour once more, willing him to yeild by fair means, and save the labour of being inforc'd by foul. The Summons was sent the 11 of December, and spake thus ;

That he being resolved by Gods assistance to use such means as were put into his hands for to reduce the Castle, did, for the preventing of farther misery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions.

The Governour having received the same, made answer,

That he was intrusted by the Committee of the Estates of Scotland for the keeping of the Castle : and that he could not deliver it up without leave from them ; and therefore

desired ten days time to send to them, and receive their answer: upon receipt whereof the General should receive his resolute answer.

But the Lord General knowing delay to be dangerous, and that time was precious, and not to be lost in vain, he made this suddain reply:

That it concerned not him to know the Obligations of them that trusted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himself, and those that were with him: but that he could not give liberty to him to consult with the Committee of Estates, because he heard those among them that were honest enjoyed not satisfaction, and the rest were now discovered to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to; in which if he desired to be satisfied, he might have information at a neerer distance than Sir Johnstons.

This Parley was intended to continue until 10 in the morning, Decemb. 13. but there flying from the Castle some great Shot on the over-night, the next morning order was given to try the Mortar-Pieces which was done; three with shells, and the fourth with stones. This produced

the Governours Answer to the Lord Generals last Message; wherein he adjured him in the Fear and Name of the living God, (which was called upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the Committee of Estates, and that he should be very willing to receive information from those of his Country-men whom he could trust. The Lord Generals reply was, That whosoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour; but to send to the Committee of Estates, he could not grant. To this the Governour was silent, until the Mortar-Pieces and great Guns began to play against the Castle; which they did for some small time, with great violence. This made Dundas send forth a Drum to desire a Conference with the Provost of Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh: which the Lord General willingly condescended unto. But they seeing it to be a business of great concernment, utterly refused to have any thing to do with it; leaving the Governour to take his own course in the business. The Drummer being returned with this answer into the Castle, it much perplexed the Governour, who

reflecting on the sad condition he was in, saw himself surrounded with many dangers both from abroad and within: should he yeild, it would go near to cost him his life, if ever he went to give an account to those that intrusted him with this charge: for the loss of so strong a place would exasperate them beyond reason, and fill their minds so full of anger and revenge, that in vain he might go about to make his own defence. Should he stand it out, and defend the Castle, haply relief might come, and so he might preserve his honour, and raise his reputation to a high pitch; which are things a valiant Souldier ought to be as careful of, as life itself.

These Considerations at last made him wave all other thoughts, and wholly resolve to acquit himself manfully, knowing his own strength, and that the Nation could not afford a better Garison to maintain then this, being naturally strong and inaccessible. No sooner had he resolved thus with himself, but his mind was accordingly signified to the English by a fair red Ensigne hung out in defiance on the top of the Castle, and the roaring of great

Guns from the Battlements of the wall. This Musick was no ways unpleasant in the Lord Generals ears; who answerable to the Scotch red Flag, produced Red-Coats (a sight more formidable) and for their Guns, sent them in such Balls, that the strongest Arm in the Castle could not beat back again. For now he thought it concerned him to let them know his utmost force, seeing they were so hardy as to withstand his power three moneths, when a potent Army at *Dunbar* could not do it three hours. Therefore *December* 17 the great Guns play hard on the Castle, and the Granadoes flying in the Air, were as so many prodigious Comets threatening misery to the Besieged, who in defence of themselves made the Castle seem *Aetna*, perpetually vomiting out smoak and fire; but all to little purpose: for the Lord General showed such continued storms of shot upon them, that even made them despair of withstanding the same.

The Governour seeing this, and thinking that now he had done sufficient for one man, beat a Parley, offering to surrender, if (still harping on this string) leave

leave might be granted to send to Committee of Estates, and see if leave would permit them to come with relief. But this being still denyed by Col. Dundass and his Souldiers thought it not good to abide any more of this fiery tryals, and therefore agreed to deliver all up, on these Articles:

That the Castle of Edinburgh, the Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, Magazines, Furniture of War, should be delivered to the Lord General Cromwel.

That the Scots should have the liberty to carry away their publick Registers, publick Moveables, private Evidences and Writs into Fife or Sterling.

That those Goods in the Castle belonging to any person whatsoever, the Owners should have them restored again: this to be proclaimed, that all might take notice of it.

That the Governour, and all Militia Officers and Souldiers, might depart without molestation, carrying their Arms and Baggage, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, to Brunst-Island in Fife: moreover sick and wounded Souldiers to stay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the same benefit of Articles with the rest of their Fellows.

According to these Articles this strong Castle being delivered up, December 24. was presently possesed by some Companies of the English, who found therein (to their admiration) 53 Peeeces of Ordnance, 15 of them Iron, the rest Brasse; 8000 Arms, 80 Barrels of Powder, and all things else suitable. The Articles were punctually performed, by the very great care of the Lord General, who sent forth a Proclamation (according to the Tenour of the Agreement) for all persons to come freely to Edinburgh, and fetch what Goods belonged to them; promising that they should not receive the least wrong, nor be injured nor molested in their Egress or Regress; the Souldiers on pain of death being commanded to obey the Proclamation: and that none might plead ignorance, it was proclaimed by beat of Drum, and sound of Trumpet in Edinburgh and Leith.

Of such importance was this place to the English, that it might compare with any of their Successes ever since they first footed Scotch Ground: *Dunbar-Victory* was a great advantage, and the routing of *Car* conduced much to the weakning of the Enemy;

Enemy; but these things onely pare the nailes of *Kirk* and *States*, which after a while grow again; or else break their shins, and made them halt a little, which might be quickly cured by a Plaster brought out of the *Highlands*: but the loss of *Edinburgh* Castle is irrecoverable; no more such strong places will grow again; the loss of which almost broke the Scots hearts, and made them cry out, *Crommel* fought with more then ordinary Engines, and shot better Metal then Lead, or else it had been impossible to reduce that which in imagination was counted impregnable. But this was no fancie: for seldome it is, that any side is so feth, but some will maintain it was Treachery; when there was no fault thing: so was it here: for *Dundas* the Governour did what lay in his power, and bore up courageously, notwithstanding he was bereft of half himself; for his wife was slain by a Granado that brook into the Castle; and his Souldiers were so frightened being frequently wounded by them, that at last laying by the duty of Souldiers, they commanded their Commander, and enforced him to do what he did. But the

unruly fellows being conveyed (according to Articles) into *Fife*, found to their cost that they had leaped out of the frying-Pan into the Fire: for about seventy of them were clapt up to answer for their misdemeanours. Where they lay some time, until the *Kirk* and *States* were at leisure to call them to an account.

The crowning of their King was now the main business in agitation amongst them: this had been delayed long by the *Kirk* and *States*, who gave him some time to repent of all his Fathers sins, and his own transgressions; which he at first refusing, it had like to have set him besides the saddle: this backwardness in him, made the *Kirk* afraid to trust in his hands the reins of Government; wherefore they set themselves wholly to teach him mortification, and rules of the new Creature; withal making him understand how impossible it was to obtain a Crown, except he took up the Cross and followed them.

But the English vigorous prosecution of their designs, quickned them forward to expedite this business, which they of themselves were backward enough in. A head they saw was requisite to compose that

that enmity which was among them, bring in those families in the High (that declared purely for Royalty) joyn with them in repelling the Prelency of the *Common Enemy*, (which the term bestowed on the English Army) for now it was declared lawful to use of all persons that became Soules at this time of need; contrary to the monistrators opinion, who would not allow of any to serve in the Army, but such could give sufficient testimony of their godly lives and conversations: so that their judgments none were to be in choice of, (let the case of necessity be so urgent) unless they could overcome the Spirit: if a house be on fire, nay in a kingdom, no water must be made use of but that which is clean; rather should it burn down, then one drop of foul be put into it. These Conceits in *Scotland* made such a fracture amongst the Clergie of the Nation, as to this day could never be cured again. But to return whence we digressed.

The first of *January* was appointed to be the day whereon the King should be crowned: great preparations were made to invest him in his Royal Power at *Scotsburgh*.

it was performed with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence that the present condition of the Nation could afford: the Nobility attending in their Robes; and the Marquess of *Argile*, as Speaker from the Parliament, made a Speech: he having ended, the Ministers began with an Exhortation how to use that which they were going to put in his power: then the Covenant being tendered to him, was immediately subscribed. *Argile* setting the Crown upon his head, (which was too heavy for one to bear) the people shewed great demonstrations of Joy, by their cheerful acclamations of *God save King Charles the second*. This News was quickly spread through all the Garisons in *Fife*, where was seen the like content, signified by the thundering report of great Guns, and lighting of Bon-fires.

This solemnity being over, the main designe now was to raise such an Army as might not onely secure what they had still in possession, but drive the English quite out of those places lately lost: to bring this to pass, Commissions were granted for raising Horse and Foot, and new Commanders brought in. *Middleton*, he

he was made Lieutenant - General of the Horse, &c.

The Lord General all this while was no idle Spectator, but took such notice of these passages, as might enable him to make his own use of them, and let them know, that greater Forces then they were able to raise, could not make him lose his hold, nor inforce one foot of ground from him. Therefore to make sure work, and get into his hands all those Garisons of the Scots which were on the South-side of the *Frith*, he commanded Colonel *Fenwick* with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Sylers* to reduce *Hume Castle*, and bring it under obedience. The Governour's name thereof was *Cockburn*, a man much governed by fancy, as you will see. *Fenwick* no sooner received this Order, but immediately he applyed himself to the work; and having drawn his men up before it, sent a Summons to the Governour in these words:

His excellency the Lord General Cromwell hath commanded me to reduce this Castle which you now possess, under his obedience; which if you now deliver into my hands, for his service,

service, you shall have terms for your self and those with you: if you refuse, I doubt not but in a short time, by the Lords assistance, to obtain what now I demand. I expect your answer by seven of the Clock to morrow morning, and rest,

Your Servant,

GEORGE FENWICK.

The Governour to this returns a quibbling Answer:

Right Honourable,

I Have received a Trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a Pass, to render Hume Castle to the Lord General Cromwell: please you I never saw your General.

As for *Hume Castle* it stands upon a Rock:

Given at *Hume Castle* this day before seven a Clock.

M

So

162 His Wars in Scotland.
So resteth, without prejudice to my Native
Country,

Your most Humble Servant,

TH: COCKBURN.

Here may be perceived how ignorant the Governour was of *Cromwells* Atchievements. Which ignorance of his mult needs be either pretended, or wilful: for it could not be that he should know no more, when the whole world had heard so much: but 'tis probable he thought a part of his Army which wanted his presence, had not the same faculty in conquering, that he himself had when in person; and therefore took the boldness after the return of his Answer, to salute Colonel *Fenwick* with these Verses:

I William of the Wastle
Am now in my Castle,
And awe the Dogs in the Town
Shan't gar me gang down.

This

His Wars in Scotland. 163

This is *Mars* mixt with a Tincture of *Mercury*. If the Superfluity of his Pen had been able to rout two Regiments, what might his Sword have done? But Colonel *Fenwick* having placed a Battery against the Castle, returns him Heroick Verse for his resolute Rhymes: for the great Guns (being one Mortar-piece and a Culvering) quickly made the feathers fly, especially a Granado that fell in the middle of the Castle, which did them great mischief. But yet they held out, until a small breach being opened, and the English ready to enter, the Governour beat a Parley. But *Fenwick* now was resolved to hearken to no Composition but onely quarter for life: which was accepted of; so the Governour, with his Garison, (78 Commanders and private Souldiers) gang'd forth of the Castle; which was presently posselt by Captain *Collinson* with his Company.

It had been long now since the Lord General himself had been in the field; for though Action was that which chiefly corresponded to his Nature, yet the sharpness of the season made him continue in his Winter-quarters for some small
M 2 time

time longer : in which time, parties were sent abroad to enlarge their Quarters, and clear the passage between *England* and *Edinburgh*. *Timprallon*-Castle was a place which many times had cut off passengers, and much molested the Country by frequent excursions : for the reducing of which, Colonel *Monk* (that gallant Commander) was sent with about three Regiments of Horse and Foot. When first he came before it, finding the Scots very refractory, he caused the Mortar-pieces to play for 48 hours : which did them little hurt ; until that six battering Guns being planted, they played their parts so well, that the Governour was enforced to yeild (seeing no other conditions would be granted) to Mercy, and all those that were with him.

The Scots King having now got some power into his hands, used his utmost endeavours to gain reputation amongst his Subjects, by visiting all the Garisons in *Fife*, and putting them in a posture to hinder the English from landing on that side the *Frith* ; But having experienced the Lord Generals courage, and knowing that Forts would prove weak withstan-

ders of his Forces, should they make an attempt ; therefore he drew from *Sterling* those Horse and Foot which could be well spared, and joyning with them the new-raised souldiers, he quartered them all along the *VVater-side*, for better security.

After this business was ended, away rides he to the High-lands, to compose differences, (for that place was not free from dissentions) & perswade those rough-hewn Fellows to rise unanimously in defence of their craggy habitations.

This progress vvas no sooner ended, but the sitting of the Scotch Parliament at *St. Johnstons* vvas begun, vvhere the chief consideration vvas still to recruit their Army vvith new supplies of men. This Meeting produced an *Act, Ordinance, or great Gun*, to terrifie those that should slip away from their Colours vvithout leave from their Captains, and vvas followed by the Clergie (to shew how ready they were to promote these designs) vvith an exhortatory Declaration, thrust vvith railing rhetorick against the English, which was sent into *Fife* and the High-lands, perswading all to rise at this time of need.

need. This produced little : for the common people must not stir, unless their *Lords* or *Leards* beat the Drum. But these *Grandees* were now busily snarling one at another about superiority in the Army ; every one endeavoring to be in the chiefest place of command : and if any one were advanced, he that came next behind pulled him by the skirts, to hinder his preferment. By this means the Scots great undertakings went on but slowly.

But to return, and make an inspection into the English Affairs : We find the Army in and about *Edinburgh*, under a cloud of sorrow, mourning for the Eclipse of that great Luminary which erst while had shined so bright in their Hemisphere, whose influence had many times melted the waxen Whings of his ambitious Enemies ; but now (as all men are subject to be so) this great General by sickness was confined to his Chamber, and utterly disabled for the present to act in person with the Army, should any new occasion call them forth of their Winter-Quarters.

This did not so much depress the spirits of the English Souldiery, (who were exceeding

ceeding sensible of their unspeakable loss, should *Crommel* their fortunate Leader be now snatch't away from them in the midst of their hopes) as it heightened the Scots, who were very much elevated with the fancy of his death ; believing the slightest report of it to be real truths, because it corresponded with their desires ; imagining to themselves assurance of Victory and sufficient Revenge, when death had conquered him, who many times before had made them feel the force of his Steel. This conceit was so deeply grounded in their imaginations, that no report to the contrary could supplant it, but it must be so, because so they would have it : so apt are men to believe any thing that serves for their purpose, according to that saying, *Quod volumus, facile credimus.*

But this *Chimera* soon vanished into nothing : for a Scotch Trumpeter being sent out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh* about the restoration of a Ship laden with Goods which the English Frigats had taken sailing from *Brunt-Island* to *Fife* ; after his message was delivered, he very confidently aver'd to the Souldiers, That their General was dead, and that they did well

in hiding it ; but all the world should never make him believe otherwise. This report was much wondered at ; and the more, because the Reporter did it with abundance of confidence, endeavouring to persuade all to chirp after his note. But he could not long persist in his opinion ; for this Novelty being handed about from one to another, at last it came to the Lord Generals ear, who much admired such a thing should be, and he not know it : therefore to dispossess the Trumpeter of that conceit, he caused him to be brought in to his presence ; where coming, he now saw, that although sickness had for some time sorely handled this noble General, yet now his recovery was so far advanced, and that Nature had now gotten so much mastery over his distemper, that in all probability he would walk forth in a small time to take the air, and visit his neighbours at *Sterling*, if not in *Fife*. At the return of the Trumpeter to those that sent him, he quickly blew away this false report which went so currantly in the Scotch Army, and assured the falsity of it.

The Parliament in *England* having ever

ver a watchful eye on the Affairs in *Scotland*, with singular providence provided sufficient supplies both of Men, Money and Provisions of all sorts for Horse and Man, dispatching them away continually to the Army ; so that it might be said, That never was an Army better provided for, then this ; nor ever did Souldiers better deserve encouragement then these.

About this time arrived at *Leith* Admiral *Dean*, one of the English Generals at Sea, with large supplies from *London* : amongst other conveniences, he brought 27 great flat-bottom'd Boats, which were for transportation of the Army over into *Fife*, that so thereby a quick dispatch might be made of this work, so far advanced already. But the time of year would not admit of much action ; for although it was *April* here, yet the Rays of the Sun were not of force sufficient to penetrate the congealed Clouds, and raise any verdure on the ground ; so that the Cavalry could not march, unless they carried their fields behind them, or else in Carts. But this which hindered the English, furthered the Scotch, and gave them leasure to scrape together as many men as possibly could

could be got. Out of the High-land marcht *Middleton*, with a considerable Force of Horse and Foot; and the Town of *Dundee*, out of a great respect to the King, and to shew their forwardness in prosecuting the cause, advanced for the service a brave Regiment of Horse at their own charges, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six fair Brass Ordnance, for the Present to the King then at *Sterling*, where all being joyned, their Army consisted of 20000 men, most raw, or else but parboil'd, having seen no Wars but what their own Country produced; and being more acquainted with their fields than fights, knew better how to handle a Spade, than a Speare. But though many of them were thus, especially the newly-raised Forces; yet all were not so: for *Scotland* being always numerous in people, supplied the neighbour-Nations with auxiliarie Forces; so that many Regiments of them were always in the service of the *Swede*, *French*, *Dutch* and other Nations. But now upon report of Wars in *Scotland*, they repaired home to serve in their own Nation at this time, against the English.

The

The Scotch Army being grown numerous, was still augmented by Forces newly raised in all parts of the Nation where the King and States had any command; yet more were desired: to that purpose, the Earl of *Eglington* (an eminent person) was sent into the VVest (with some other Commanders) to raise Forces: these coming to *Dunbarton*, began to put their Commissions in execution; but Colonel *Lilburn* having notice of it, sent them a party of Horse, which suddainly snapt the Earl himself, his Son Colonel *James Montgomery*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Colborn*, &c. whom they carried away prisoners to *Edinburgh*.

The Lord General *Cromwel* had now got strength to walk abroad, notwithstanding the relapse he fell into after his first sickness; and had it not been that he was of an extraordinary strong constitution, the Ague, which last of all seized upon him, might have shook him into the grave. But the Parliament in *England* seeing how frequent these distempers were upon their General, and doubting the air of *Scotland* might be the cause of it, the Council of State first of all sent him two eminent Do-

Doctors, Dr. Wright, and Dr. Bates, to use their utmost skill in his recovery; and presently after dispatched an Order into Scotland, which gave him liberty to leave the business of the Army, and repair into England, until his health and strength was recovered. Upon receipt of this, he made a return of thanks by a Letter to the Lord President of the Council, which ran thus:

My Lord,

I Having received yours of the 27th of May, with an Order of the Parliament for my liberty to return into England, for change of ayre, that thereby I might the better recover my health; all which came unto me whiles Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates (whom your Lordship sent down) were with me: I shall not need to repeat the extremity of my last sickness; it was so violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectations, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. And Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their Order, is a very high and

undeserved favour; which although it befit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy persons so great a journey to visit me, from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recovery of health and strength; which I finde (by the goodness of God) growing towards such a state, as may yet (if it be his good will) render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your Affairs here, then to depend (in the least) upon so frail a thing as I am: indeed they do not, nor own any Instrument: this Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh that all that have any hand therein, being so perswaded, would gird up the loyns of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord: So prays,

My Lord,

Edinburgh,
June 3.

Your most humble Servant,
O. CROMWEL.
Al-

Although sickness had a long time kept under the body of this noble General yet his courage was no way diminished by it: for no sooner was he able to go abroad, but with eager desire of action he consults with the chief Officers of the Army to carry on the War. The result of these Councils was to contract the Army, by drawing in the out-guards or petty Garisons which were of little force and onely served for *Perdues* to give notice of the Enemies motions. To *Hamilton* marcht Commissary-General *Whalley* with eight Regiments of Horse, and brought off a Troop of Dragoons, and 60 Foot which were there placed; afterward several other places were deserted by the Forces that kept them.

The Army being thus drawn into one body, were supplied with 33 Waggon and Carriages for the Train from *Barwick*; and near upon the same time arrived by Sea Captain *Butler* in the *Success*, a stout ship formerly taken from the French: this was the Ship that waisted along the Golden Fleece, and safely swam into *Leith* with a rich Cargazon of about 80000*l.* for to pay the Souldiers. This money

money was presently distributed out, to the Horse and Foot; which mightily elevated their resolution to the present Expedition.

All things being now ready for this *Champaigne*, the Lord General *Crommel* ordered the Armies advance to *Red-hall*: which was cheerfully done, on June 24. 1651. At this place they onely tarried until the Souldiers had wholly quitted their Quarters, and then marched off to *Pencland* hills, a place which was well known to the English, ever since the first enterance of the Army into *Scotland*, when they took the confidence from thence to look big on the City of *Edinburgh*: but now being in a braver condition then they were before, having cut through the greatest difficulties of the *WVar*, and advanced their Blood-red Cross on the top of the most impregnable places that durst withstand their invincible Force; having made a breakfast of the South of *Scotland*, they intended the North for a Dinner. Therefore to make haste, now their stomachs were up, the Lord General *Crommel* caused the whole Army to pitch their Camp on *Pencland* hills,

hills, in such a comely Order, and admirable Figure, so that *Julius Caesar* himself (could he have kept death off at the sword point, and thereby survived to this Age) might have turned Scholar, and learnt the Rudiments of Modern Discipline, by the Example of this excellent Commander. How amiable was it to behold the towering Tents of the superiour Officers, in various Figures, and spreading Colours overlooking the Huts of the inferiour Souldiers, like so many Pinacles in a well-built City, that aspire over the humble Cottages, administering a pleasant object to the delighted Traveller! Here Military Discipline resembled the Civil Power; all knowing their Duty, and performing their Parts; whilst General *Cromwel* the Head observed the Actions of every Member in this great Body, with one hand stretched forth to reward the sober and valiant; the other, to punish the cowardly and vicious. It was not here, as usually it hath been practised in forraign Armies; as that of the Duke of *Lorain*, where the first question to a new-listed Souldier was this, *Canst thou plunder?* or in some others, where the Van, by Rapine and destruction, make Skeletons of the Rear.

While the Army lay thus incamped, the Lord General in his Tent feasted his Officers, and several of their Ladies, as the Lady *Lambert*, and Major General *Deans* Lady, with several other English Gentlemen, who came from *Leith* to view the Souldiers in their Tents, and afterwards returned back to the places from whence they came.

The Army continued not long in this posture: for General *Cromwel* seeing the weather invited, and intelligence of the Scots being at *Falkirk*, requiring a speedy advance, he therefore drew forth the Army to meet them, which we shall muster in their March, and set down the names of the particular Colonels, with their Regiments, both of Horse and Foot, which were actual in this Expedition, that so the remembrance of these worthy Commanders may be preserved.

The Regiments were these:

HORSE.

1. The Lord General's.
2. Major General *Lambert*'s.
3. Lieut. General *Fleetwood*'s.
4. Com

4. Com. Gen. *Whalie's*.
5. Col. *Tomlinson's*.
6. Col. *Twisleton's*.
7. Col. *Hacker's*.
8. Col. *Okey's*.
9. Col. *Lidcot's*.
10. Col. *Berry's*.
11. Col. *Grosvenor's*.
12. Col. *Alured's*.
13. Col. *Lilburn's*.
14. 6 Troops under Maj. *Husbands*.

FOOT.

1. The Lord General's.
 2. Major General *Lambert's*.
 3. Major General *Dean's*.
 4. Lieut. General *Monk's*.
 5. Colonel *Fairfax's*.
 6. Colonel *Pride's*.
 7. Colonel *Goff's*.
 8. Colonel *West's*.
 9. Colonel *Cooper's*.
 10. Colonel *Ashfield's*.
 11. Colonel *Daniel's*.
 12. Colonel *Read's*.
- Six Troops of Dragoons, and sixteen pieces of Ordinance.

This

This brave Cavalry and gallant Infantry, in prosecution of the present design, first marched to *New-bridge*, from thence to *Lithgow*. Now the two Armies being not far from one another, it was conceived a speedy ingagement would follow, seeing General *Cromwel's* courage prompted him to seek his Enemies; and the numerousness of the Scots Army might be a persuasion to them not to fear a Fight: But it seems, they intended nothing less; for the King having drawn his Foot into *Torwood*, incamped there, and railed them in with regular Fortifications, the Horse in great Bodies lying about them, for security; and these again being fenced with the River and with Bogs, so that it was an impossible thing for the English to drive them out of this fastness which they had betaken themselves to. Yet however, the Lord General would try whether provocations might draw the Scots to a fairer field, and therefore marched his Army in Battalia so near their main Body, that their Tents might perfectly be discerned; and so stood from twelve at noon, till eight at night, expecting the Scots approach; but they having more mind to spin out time,

N 2

to

then to put all to the hazard of one Battel, refused an ingagement. But because it should not be said the English came there for nothing, therefore the Scots sent them some thundring Messengers from the concavity of their great Guns, which wrought this effect; that the Lord General *Crommel* drew off his Army, with a resolution not quite to desert the service, but rather to go back some few paces, that so he might return again with the greater force; or else attempt the Scots Quarters in some other places, and by that means, inforce his Enemies to seek to him for relief of their Friends.

This resolution being taken up, the Lord General drew off his Army to *Glasgow*; and after some small refreshment of his wearied Souldiers, he marched away again, directly on the East side of the Town, and so continued in excellent order marching on for five or six miles towards *Hamilton*, (this was to amuse the Scots, and bring them into security:) but upon the suddain, hoping to get some advantage over the Scots, upon the remove of their Camp to *Kelso*, he wheeled about, and quickly after took up his Quarters at *Monke-*

Monke-Land, within four miles of their Army. But though they still declined ingagement, refusing to meddle with the English, otherwayes then by small parties, that sometimes flew out, when they conceived any advantage might be gained; yet many of these Land-Pickaroons were often met withal, and sent home again well Bastinado'd for their boldness.

This spinning out of time in this manner so exasperated the Lord General *Crommel*, that he resolved to fall upon part of their Forces that were placed to keep *Kalendar-House*. Accordingly, July 15. he caused two battering Guns to be planted: they began to play about eleven of the clock that day; and about seven at night they had acted their parts so well, that the wall no longer being able to indure the force of these fiery Engines, fell down in many places; and yet for all this, the Governor very stoutly made good his charge; believing that the whole Scotch Army his friends, who were in sight, would never let him perish for want of relief, and therefore resolved to stand it out to the utmost. The Lord General seeing his Summons wrought little effect to the obtain-

ing of his ends, sent ten Files out of every Regiment, to pull them out by force, seeing they would not yeild for fear: these stout Lads being provided with Faggots presently dis-burdened their backs in the Enemies Moat, and so springing over into the breach, carried all before them, so that in half an hour, the House was wholly possessed, and the Governor with sixty two Souldiers hurried away into another world, having refused (when they might) to live in this. The Scotch Army all this while moved not, but as passive Spectators beheld this Tragedy, without offering to send one hand to help their friends in distress, as if this business nothing concerned them. The Lord General seeing how cowardly the Scots were, in that they suffered their Garisons to be snatched away from under their Noses, resolves to sit yet more close upon their skirts, and bid fair for *Fife*, thereby to cut off those supplies of provisions that inabled them to trifle out time, and protract the VVar. This design had many times been discouraged of by the General and his Council of VVar, but never before fell out so fit an opportunity as was now presented.

VVhere-

VVherefore Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment of Foot, having four Companies more joyned with them, and four Troops of Horse, all under the command of that valiant Souldier, Col. *Overton*, were designed for this service: these lying at *Leith*, it was given out, they were intended for *England* by Sea; but upon a sudden, all provisions being in a readiness, the Boats and Pinaces also fitted for Service, Colonel *Overton* marched with his Forces out of *Leith*, to *Queens Ferry*; and there having imbarqued his men, Thursday *July* 17. in the evening, this Brigade set forward, and the next morning very early, (being furthered by the wings of Sails and Oars) this little Fleet flew over the *Frith* into *Fife*, and landed at the North-Ferry, in spite of those showers of great and small shot that were poured upon them at their approaching the shore: in exchange whereof, Colonel *Overton* caused his men to pay them in their own coyn, by firing upon them out of the Boats: which being performed with admirable courage and gallantry, made the Scots break off the dispute, and (notwithstanding their advantage of firm footing, when the Eng-

lish stood on a very tottering foundation) betake themselves to their heels, leaving behinde them part of their Arms and Artillery.

Overton being thus landed, made good his ground, by causing his souldiers to become Pioneers, and to intrench themselves, for greater security, until more Forces might come up to them; upon whose conjunction, they would be enabled to march up into the Country, without fear of any opposition. To this purpose, Messengers were with all speed posted away to the Lord General, to acquaint him with their good success, and the present posture of their affairs; who thereupon immediately ordered a supply of two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot to be hastened away with all expedition, under the conduct of Major-General *Lambert*.

The news of these passages arriving at the Scottish Camp, gave them so hot an Alarm, that in all haste Major-General *Brown* is dispatched away with four Regiments of Horse, and Major-General *Holborn* with as many of Foot, to drive the English out of *Fyfe* again. But they lost their aim: for *Lambert* getting the start of

of them, came up to the relief of *Overton*, ere they could approach to straiten him. The English being thus united, *Lambert* drew them up in Battalia in a very formal manner, in this order: His own Regiment of Horse, with the Dragoons of Col. *Okey* and Col. *Morgan*, made the Right Wing; Colonel *Lidcot's* three Troops of Horse, with some Dragoons, made the Left: the Main Body consisted of the Regiments of Major-General *Lambert*, Colonel *West*, and Colonel *Daniel*, of Foot; with some odd Companies more, which were edged in to the greatest advantage.

The Scots finding the English in this posture, were not at all discouraged; but expressing greater resolution than usually they had done, set their men in Battel array, and stoutly confronted their adversaries. Both Parties having faced each other for the space of an hour and an half, *Lambert* with the Right Wing of his Battel fell on the Enemy with great fierceness, giving the first Charge on the Scots Left wing; which they (not flinching a foot) manfully sustained, returning like for like. Thus continuing for some time, the

the Scale of success standing in equip-
 dio, the Pistols having now done their part,
 the fury of these Antagonists grew to such
 a height, that flinging away those more
 cowardly weapons, every man drew upon
 his opposite, and with swords point char-
 ged thorow each other. But this was too
 hot to hold: for the English being very
 dextrous in that kinde of fighting, quickly
 routed the Enemies Left wing, and made
 them flee, leaving a fair field. Neither
 were the rest of the Forces on both sides
 idle spectators, but industriously acted
 their parts in their several stations. The
 Foot that constituted the Main Body of
 the English, traversing their ground, re-
 iterated their Volleys, that they seemed
 to cause an earthquake. But the Scots
 Horse being utterly dissipated, their Foot
 could not stand long; who being left to
 the mercy of their Enemy, in this heat of
 blood, found it cruel, being little other
 then what was dispensed at the but-end of
 their Muskets, (especially to the High-
 landers.) In a word, and that in plain
 English, so enraged were the English, that
 in a trice they bestrewed the place with
 2000 Scots, or thereabout, as so many ob-
 jects of mortality.

Neither were the Captives inconsider-
 able, either for their quality or number,
 they being as followeth, viz. Major-Ge-
 neral *Brown* Commander in chief; one
 Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one
 Major, thirteen Captains, seventeen Lieu-
 tenants, nine and twenty Ensignes, five
 Quartermasters, six and twenty Sergeants,
 five and twenty Corporals, and One thou-
 sand two hundred twenty and six common
 souldiers, with fourty and two Colours
 of Horse and Foot. *Brown* having re-
 ceived this Defeat, (which consisted not
 onely in the loss of so many considerable
 Forces, but the wounding of his Honour
 and Reputation, more valued then life by
 a Generous minde) and being himself re-
 duced to the condition of a prisoner, sur-
 vived not long; dying (as was conceived)
 of very grief for his hard fate.

But the English triumph in their victo-
 ry, still seeking to augment it, by farther
 Exploits: now the Terrour of this Blow
 had spread it self into all the Scots Gar-
 risons; and therefore *Lambert* first of all
 summons the impregnable Fort of *Innes-
 garvey*, situate in an Isle lying in the *Frith*,
 betwixt *Queens Ferry*, and the Pass into
Fife

Fife. The Garison here was posselt with such a pannick fear, that upon summons they were content to march away, with their swords onely by their sides, (to shew what profession they were of) and leave the Fort, with all the Arms, Ammunition and provision, with sixteen pieces of Ordnance, behinde them, for the use of the English.

The Scots King having the report of this great overthrow of his Forces brought to *Torwood*, where he still lay strongly in camp, it wrought such a great distraction in his Army, that he very hastily dislodged and marched into *Sterling* Park. But they could not be so quick in the retreat, but General *Crommel* (who still waited upon them) was as nimble in the Rear; who although he had much diminished his Forces, by sending so many into *Fife*, yet he endeavourd to fight the whole Army of his Enemies, and marched after them through the ground they lately posselt, and there found what pannick fear he posselt them, who in hast had left behinde them all their sick souldiers, one barrel of Powder, three of Ball, much Match, many Musquets, and three barrels of Hand

Granadoes. Thus the Lord General followed them with provocations to move them to fight, until he came within two miles of *Sterling*; but all to little purpose: for they would neither bark nor bite, but hasted away to secure themselves.

The Lord General seeing his stay here would be to little purpose, marched away his Army the 22 of *July* to *Lithgo*, whence he sent over into *Fife*, the greatest part of them, with the Train of Artillery, to prosecute the War on the other side of the water. Now there remaining onely four Regiments of Horse, and four of Foot behinde, those he made use of to secure what was already gained, and to keep a watchful eye on the Scots future Motions. The Lord General himself retired to *Leith*, there to take order for the supplie of his souldiers. Whilst he staid here, the happy news of the surrender of *Bruntland* arrived to his Ears: for Major General *Lambert* prosecuting his good fortune, brought the Army before that Island, in hope that the sight of his Red-Coats might daunt them into a rendition. And herein he was not deceived: for

for no sooner was he come before it, but without one shot made, the Scots desired Articles to depart in peace : which *Lambert* (though a man of War) quickly consented to ; and so the place was yielded upon these Conditions.

1. That the Souldiers in Garison (who were about five hundred) should march away with flying Colours.

2. That the Towns People should have what belonged to them.

3. That all provisions for War, together with all Guns and shipping of War, should be delivered up for the use of the Commonwealth of England.

This place was of great concernment for besides the strength of it, it was a most commodious Harbour, and, in many respects, better then that at *Leith*; and from thence the Army in the progress of their Conquests, might have constant supplies of all necessaries.

The Lord General having dispatched his Affairs at *Leith*, made no stay, but immediately crost the *Frith*, to his Army then at *Brunt Island*, where he finds all things

governed by *Lambert*, with much Prudence and Policie ; the Souldiers courageous, and Commissary General *Whalley* with a strong Party of Horse abroad, scouring the Sea-side of *Fife*, having some Men of War by Sea attending his Motion. The Activity of this excellent Commander was very eminent, who quickly subjugated many small Forts, and possesst himself of all their Artillery, with the Ships and Pinaces, that lay near them, for security.

Having now brought his Affairs to a very hopeful condition, the Lord General placed Colonel *West's* Regiment in *Brunt Island*, and with the rest of the Army and Train of Artillery, July 30. 1651. he marched away to reduce *St. Johnstons*, thereby to stop the High-landers from offering to send any Supplies to *Sterling*, either of Men or Provisions. The swiftness of this March was such, that in two dayes the English Army came within sight of the Town : and no sooner had they faced the same, but intelligence informed the Lord General what small resistance he was like to meet withal : which news was no way unwelcome, but most acceptable : for now 'twas

'twas hoped to obtain possession by words not by swords; and therefore this Summons was sent in:

That being informed the Town was void of a Garison, save the inhabitants, and some few Country men, he thought fit to send them, to deliver the same to him immediately, and that he did thereby promise to secure their Persons from violence, and their goods from plunder.

This Message was immediately sent away by a Trumpeter, who (as it was conceived) would blow open the Gates, and make a free entrance for the whole Army; but it fell out contrary to expectation; for this Messenger of Peace approaching one of the Gates, he was denied admittance, and returned back again by the Towns-men with a short Reply, *That they were not in a capacity to receive any Letters.* This slighting of Peace, had like to have made them incapable of Mercy, but that a speedy excuse from the Magistrates of the Town was sent forth, to mend the matter, which declared, *That the King's Majesty had sent a very strong Party,*

to maintain the Town, and over-power them with a Governour: But alwayes to observe civility with his Lordship, they had obtained leave from the Governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat.

This was strange, but not so strange as true: For the day before, the Lord Dafferes had entered the town with 1300 soldiers; and therefore General Cromwel once more resolved to try the strength of his pen in a new Summons to this new Governour, before they felt the fury of his sword. But this was to little purpose: for Dafferes would not return the least line or word in answer. This sullen silence caused the General to give a speedy Order for drawing away the Water out of the Moats round about the Town, whilst three Regiments of Foot, Col. Prides, Reads and Maliverers, boldly advanced, and planted four great Guns, which plaid furiously into the Town: this continued for one night; but the Governour next day finding himself in an Errour, was unwilling to persist any longer in it, for fear of being brought to the stool of Repentance; and therefore sent out to desire a Treaty: which

which being concluded upon, it was there agreed to deliver up the Town to the Lord General.

Thus the English Army run on in a continued Series of Successes, making all places that offered to withstand their invincible force, bow in obedience, and come under their command; and all this without the least opposition from the Scotch grand Army, commanded by the King himself, which had lain long in and about *Sterling* strongly intrenched, as if their only design had been to defend themselves, fearing (as 'twas thought) to offend their Enemies, and therefore continued their station to no other purpose then to bring up the Rear in *Cromwel's* Triumphs. But it fell out otherways: for the English Army having advanced as far Northwards as *Stirling*, the King thought good to make use of the present opportunity, seeing his Affairs in *Scotland* were reduced to a desperate condition; and fearing the fate that hung over that Nation would inevitably fall upon his own head, did not he prevent it by some extraordinary means; therefore knowing a desperate Disease requires

a desperate Cure, and that being in a house ready to fall, it would be the safest course, by a sudden departure, to save himself, by seeking a better Habitation; he presently took that course. To which end, first of all, casting up his force, he found it extended to about 16000 strong: with these, and hopes of farther help from Friends, he resolves to venter for *England* it self, not doubting, if his success answered his desires, to hook in both *Scotland* and *Ireland* into the Bargain. This Resolution he resolves to put in execution, and therefore hastens his souldiers to drive on the design.

Thursday, July 31. 1651. all things being in readiness, the Scotch Army began their march from *Sterling*, and the sixth day after, entered *England*, by the way of *Carlisle*. The noyse of this Irruption made a terrible Eccho through all the Nation, especially in the ears of the Parliament at *Westminster*, who were much startled with the suddenness of the Action. But they (like vigilant Statists) doubting such a thing would happen, had beforehand provided to welcome these new-come Guests: and first of all, Major General *Harrison*, attended by 3000 Horse and Dragoons,

joyning himself with Colonel *Rich*, and some other great Commanders, marched away to salute them upon their entrance into *England*. Then an Act was issued forth, and sent into all the Counties of the Nation, to raise up the Militia into a present posture of Defence; and besides, to make all sure, another Act was presently sent abroad, which prohibited correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his Party; wherein it was enacted and declared,

That no person whatsoever should presume to hold any correspondencie with the said Charles Stuart, or with his Party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist any of them, nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered to any of them, any Victuals, Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, Horses, Plate, Money, Men, or any other Relief whatsoever, under pain of High Treason. And that all persons should use their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop their March.

Yet for all this, the Scots went on in pro-

profecution of their present designe, bending their course, by a swift March, for the west of *England*, where we will leave them, making more hast then good speed; and return back again to the Lord Gen. *Cromwel*.

He having notice at *St. Johnstons*, that the Scots Army were gone to take up new Quarters in *England*, did immediately settle the Affairs of *Scotland* in a posture sufficient to secure what was already won; and leaving six thousand Horse and Foot more, with Lieutenant General *Monk*, to reduce the rest, he causes Major General *Lambert* with five Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, to fly away with all possible speed, to get into the Rear of the Scots Army, whilst *Harison* was in their Front; so to impede their March, until himself could get up unto them. This being done, with the remainder of the Army, consisting of eight Regiments of Foot, two of Horse, and eight great Guns, this victorious General marched away, leaving *Scotland* (but not the remembrance of his being there) and on *August* 12. he with his Army crossed *Tine*. With this swift March being quite tired out, he caused the Army to pitch their Tents on *Ryson Haugh* upon the brink

brink of *Tine*; himself in the mean time quartering at *Stelly House*, neer unto his Souldiers.

The Mayor of *New-Castle*, having notice of the Armies being thus neer the Town, immediately went forth with the rest of the Magistrates, to congratulate the Generals arrival into *England*: And to make themselves welcome to the Souldiers, they carried along with them, for supply of the Army, Bread, Cheefe, Biscet and Beer: these Provisions were a great refreshing, and inabled the Souldiers with cheerfulness to undertake the future march.

In the mean time, the Scots with their King, marched on towards *Warrington Bridge*, where Maj. Gen. *Harison* resolved to make oppolition against them, and if possible to hinder their passage over: but before they could break down the Bridge, the Scots by a swift March from *Charley* came up; and being necessarily engaged, they maintained a notable combate with those that offered to withstand them: here they had a small brush, but could very well afford it, for the loss was their gain (and so both sides were satisfied with the ingage-

gement) for though some of their men fell in the fight, yet they had their desire, which was to pass over the bridge. And now it was the great Question of all, whether they intended to bend their course; most believed for *London*, being that was the Metropolis of the English Nation, a populous City, well furnished with a great Magazine of Men and Money; the first, being the Wheels of War; the last, the Oyl, which makes them turn nimbly about. But it seems the Scots looked upon this as too hazardous, or else intended onely to take the dimensions of the Land, and when that was done, to return home again to their own Kingdom. However, they marched on towards the West, shewing all civility to the people as they pass along; and with such strict Discipline were they governed, that as their Army marched through *Shropshire*, a private Souldier for offering to enter an Orchard, was by his Officer immediately disbanded with a Bullet. By this severity their rough-hewn natures were so polished, that if Necessity drove any private Souldier to a door, he durst speak no other Language, then, *A Drink of Water.* But now at last, their

Peregrination ends at *Worcester*; for coming thither, weak and weary with constant duty, and hard labour, having expected much, but finding little, they here resolve to take up their Quarters, hoping *Massey's* former services in *Gloucestershire*, and those parts, was not quite buried in the Grave of Oblivion. But in this they found it otherwise: for although they might love his person well, yet seeing his parts engaged against the Grain of the Times, it quite alienated the affections of those that otherwise might wish him well.

The Scotch King with his Army having thus entered *Worcester*, on Friday August the 23. 1651. resolved (being he could go no further) to tarry there, and abide the brunt: And therefore in the first place, because he would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the preservation of himself and forces, he caused works to be raised, for better security. Then he sent forth his Letters Mandatory to Colonel *Mackworth*, Governour of *Shrewsbury*; and likewise to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to perswade them to raise Forces for him: but this proved fruitless; so that being now got as it were in a pound, there

was no way, but to make the best of a bad bargain. And now the black and dismal clouds began to gather about *Worcester*, which portended a dreadful storm would quickly follow, as presently after it did: For victorious *Cromwel* (who by delays never contributed to approaching dangers) having refreshed his men near *New-Castle*, marched away without the least delay or loss of time, until he came to joyn with the rest of the Parliaments Forces, commanded by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, the Lord *Gray of Groby*, Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Harison*; and besides all these, the Militia Forces out of every County were commanded to march away, and surround those wretched men at *Worcester*, that so a quick dispatch might be put to the work.

Never was it known before in *England*, that such great Forces were gathered together in so small a time; for the standing Army, with the rest of those Forces newly raised by Act of Parliament, upon this occasion, could not amount to less than eighty thousand. But now the Lord General *Cromwel* being come up, and having

ob.

observed the posture that the Scotch Army lay in, began his work with an attempt upon *Upton* Bridge; there intending, if it was possible, to pass over his Army: this design was left to Major General *Fleetwoods* management, who presently sent away a small party of Horse and Dragoons to discover how feasible the attempt might be. This Party, though small, proved daring in a desperate attempt: for finding the bridge broken down, and nothing remaining, but only a Beam of Timber that reached from one Arch to another, (which through negligence had been left by the Scots) these bold Fellows made no more ado, but dismounting their Horses one after another, rid over on this Wooden *Pegasus*, and presently after (having now recovered the other side) run themselves into a Church nearer to the bridge for security. Major General *Massey* being all this while in *Upton* with about 60 Dragoons, and 200 Horse, lying secure, without the least dread of an Enemy, imagining it impossible for any to come at him at that time, was upon the sudden report of this Exploit, so alarmed, that in great confusion, he with his men, gave a camifado on the Church: but that valiant

Commander *Lambert*, highly prizing the worth of his men, immediately came in, with a new supply of Horse, to their rescue. *Massey* now seeing that to fight would be meer folly, being much over-matched, thought a timely retreat the only way to secure his men; which he performed with so much bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the Rear, and never left his station, until his men were got farther off, into safety. This encounter at last fell heavy on himself; for he not fearing his flesh, and despising the force of his Enemies, encountered great difficulty in getting away, having received a shot in his hand.

The Bridge being thus won, all imaginable industry was employed to make it up; so that in a small time, Lieutenant General *Fleetwoods* Army marched over; which still pressing forward, they laid a Bridge of Boats over the River *Teame*, (on the west side of *Severn*, which gliding along, at last emptieth it self thereinto, about a mile beneath *Worcester*.) General *Cromwell*, in the mean time, caused another Bridge to be laid over the *Severn* on his side, that so the Enemy might be the more strained.

Upon

Upon this, the Scots having taken alarm, rise from their Leaguer at St. James, and with the greatest part of their Horse and Foot marched on to oppose the Lord Generals passage. The Lord General seeing this, resolves to draw off the Enemy, and so divert his design; or else to force him to fight on great disadvantage, therefore himself in person led over the River (on that side of *Worcester* which he had undertook to attack) two Regiments of Foot, Colonel *Hookers* of Horse, and his own Life-Guard. In the meantime *Fleetwood*, with the assistance of Colonel *Goff's* and Major General *Dean's* Regiments of Foot, marched on to a hedge-fight for the Scots looking upon this as the safest way, had lined the hedges thick with Musqueteers; so that the Bushes must be beaten, before these Birds could be taken. This was not long in doing; for the English falling on, perform'd a brave fight from hedge to hedge: the Scots on the other side, not losing any thing that could be kept, but manfully maintaining the ground, until Colonel *Blake*, *Gibbons*, and *Marshes* Regiments came in to lay the load on their shoulders; then they retreated

to *Pawick* Bridge, where again they were engaged with Col. *Hayns*, Col. *Cobbets*, and Col. *Matthew's* Regiments, in another hot dispute: but at length, seeing they could not prevail, they provided for their own security by running into *Worcester*.

And now desperation animating their courage, knowing that to continue in this pound, would make them in a pitiful pickle, therefore (having already tried their fortune with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*) they imagining him to have commanded the greater force, they hoped to make a more fortunate sally against General *Cromwell*; therefore upon the sudden, they sallied out against him, with all the Horse and Foot they could; but (as it proved) with bad success, for though at first they shewed such activity in their Arms, that General *Cromwell's* men were forced a little to retire, yet presently the multitudes of fresh men coming in, so turned the scales, that the Scots were wholly routed, flying away in great confusion, to save themselves: the Horse flew amain back again, towards the North; but the Foot not able to keep company, ran into *Worcester*, with some of the Victors at their heels. Whilst, in the mean

mean time, General *Cromwel*, to make further work, with a few Regiments of Foot, ran up to the Royal Fort; and being ready to storm, his clemencie was seen, in venturing his person through the showers of shot, and offering the Scots quarter if they would presently yield. But they being so fatuated, refused the profer, which caused their too late repentance; for the Lord General falling on, quickly possessed the Fort, and all the Artillery that was therein.

The City being now won, the souldiers furiously fly through all the streets, doing such execution, that nothing could be seen for some time, but blood and slaughter, until at last, the sack of the Town, and plunder of Prisoners having satisfied their appetites, they fall to securing of Prisoners, which (both in fight and flight) amounted to about 10000, the slain neer 3000, so that neer all was lost, onely some few Horse excepted, which escaped out of the Battel; but these found their flight to stand them in little stead: for Major General *Harrison* with a fresh party, fiercely pursued in their Rear, whilst the Country people fronted and flanked them like little

Beagles, which when a Mastiff is once beaten, will not let him pass without a snarle at his tail, and fiercely pursue him, whom before they durst not look in the face.

This Battle put a period to the Good Fortune of the *Stuarts* Family; and on the other side, crowned General *Cromwells* Achievements, with an absolute security of all his former Conquests, the influence whereof (though acted in *England*) was great in *Scotland*: their chief Nobility, Gentry, and private souldiers being thus cut off, that Nation could no longer be able to hold up its head, but quickly after must needs be brought under obedience to the Commonwealth of *England*: as it fell out soon after.

The Parliament at *London*, having speedy notice of this prosperous success, received it with grateful acceptation. But that which abated somewhat of their Triumphs, was, That the King could not be numbred among the Captives, nor found among the Slain, but was slip'd away into some by-place: for he seeing that all the Enemies aim was onely to smite him, and that they did not fight so much against small or great,

as against the King of Scots; finding the battel to go hard on his side, he left caring for others, to provide for himself: knowing full well, that should he be taken, his Quarter would be Quattering; and that without the help of an Astrologer, it might easily be prognosticated what Death he should die. Therefore trusting more to horse than men, and fear adding wings to his flight, he hastened with all speed towards *Lancashire*; but by the way (doubting that much company would do him little good, but rather be a means to cause his sooner discovery) leaving the Road, he wandered for some time about *England*, still at last, finding a fit opportunity, he returned back again into *France*.

Thus this object of worldly Mutability, having ventured at all, could enjoy no more then the heavy Load of his own Misfortunes; having been onely *Tantalized* with the Golden Apples of sweet Sovereignty, but never suffered to satisfy his appetite with their fruition: for coming into *Scotland*, his Government was cut out to him by shreds, as pleased the Kirk and States of that Kingdom; and being a stranger, he must be carved to, not suffered to serve

serve himself, for fear of surfeits, like *Zan-cha Panza's* Doctors, that slipt away the dishes out of respect to his health, whilst in the mean time, they went about to starve him: Even so these State-Doctors diered this poor Prince for some time, feeding him with hopes and expectations of his desire; and then at last, give him no more, but onely a Nut without the Kernel, a Crown without a Kingdom: so that his Commands were presently countermanded by a stronger, and made invalid by General *Cromwells* sword, who never left hunting him from place to place, till at last he was forc'd to flee into *Flanders* for shelter, where he now remains.

The Lord General *Cromwel* having given this deadly blow at *Worcester*, September 3. 1651. which laid the Scots hopes low in the dust, and thereby raised to himself a full assurance of the security of all his former Conquests, tarried no longer in that City, then to see the Walls of it levelled to the ground, and the Dikes fill'd with Earth, that so the disaffection of the inhabitants might be bridled from attempting to secure any future Enemy. And now

leaving this *Golgotha*, he hastened away to offer his victorious Palms at the Parliaments feet: Accordingly, *September 12.* approaching neer to *London*, the Speaker, with the Members of Parliament, and the Lord President of the Council of State, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and some hundreds more of Quality, met him with demonstrations of extream affection, to congratulate all his Noble Achievements, and Worthy Exploits: here they comment on his Valour, making large notes on his Victories: the more, because he had done much in a small time, bringing that about in fifteen Months, which was rather judged to be the work of so many years; having in this time quite dispelled those Vapours (fearful to the Parliament) which were exhaled by the Rayes of Regality, and once more made the serenity of Peace to shine in our Hemisphere. Thus the Lord General was received in Triumph (having before sent his Trophies, the *Scotch Prisoners*) with great acclamations, and conducted to his house neer *White-hall*. And after some small repose there, he and his valiant Lieutenant-General went to take up their places in the Parliament, where

where the Speaker in a congratulatory Oration acknowledged the Obligation of the State to them for their indefatigable industry.

The same day the Lord Mayor of *London* (to compleat the rejoycing, and shew his gratitude in behalf of the City) feasted the General and his chief Officers. This being ended, with mutual returns of thanks, the Lord General took his leave, and returned back again, to consider what was farther to be done for the settlement of the nation: This is his next Work; And what he did in order to the accomplishing thereof, we now come to shew.

The End of His Personal Wars.



HIS ACTIONS

In the
PROTECTORSHIP.

THE English Nation having by a Civil War banished Monarchy with an *Exit Tyrannus*, presently institute an Oligarchy, which (to give them their due) acted in their Infancy like *Hercules* in the Cradle, killing all those Serpents that offered to hiss against their Authority; and with such vigor prosecuted their designs, that both *Ireland* and *Scotland* were inforced to yeild obedience to their commands.

The Authority of this Power being thus miraculously extended, it grew at length dread-

His Actions in the Protectorship. 213

dreadful to the neighbouring Nations, especially the Dutch, a people who of all others, were most sensible of the growing greatness of the English Commonwealth: they knowing full well, that two neighbouring States of equal greatness could never long agree, being still jealous of each others actions: which jealousy causing misconstruction, would at last break forth into open hostility.

Examples are frequent in this kinde; *Rome* and *Carthage* so long contended, till the one was ended. They first fell out about the Island of *Sicily*, and so by degrees this fewd extended it self through all those Nations where either side had any dominion. But at last a peace being patched up, it continued until the second Punick War, wherein *Carthage* was made a Puny indeed, and brought under subjection to *Rome*.

Another Example we have in that most noble Republick *Venice*, whose first Founders being hunted by the barbarous *Huns*, out of *Italy*, were fain to shelter themselves by flying unto some little barren Islands, which lay in the *Adriatick* Gulph; where necessity putting an edge upon industry, cau-

fed these people to begin an admirable Structure, which since hath been increased to such a magnitude and splendor, that it may well be termed, *The Worlds Wonder*, for the excellent Architecture, multitude of Bridges, rare Arsenal or Magazine: but above all, the Policie of this State far surpasseth all others in Government, and may well be a pattern for direction and imitation to any people in the world.

Venice thus gradually ascending to eminency, grew so great as to challenge the superiority over all the watry Element about it; as well it might, being situate therein, and therefore *Neptunes Minion*. This City being on one side of *Italy*, on the other side lay *Genoa*, situate neer the feet of the *Apennine Hills*; a Commonwealth too, and therefore aspiring high, grew emulous of the Venetians greatness, which made those two Republiques grow at enmity. The first occasion of their falling out, was about a Church allowed them both, for exercise of Divine Service, in *Ptolemas*, commonly called *Acoe* in *Syria*: this Church being too little to hold both people of such great spirits, there grew a hot Dispute whose it should be; which came to

to this issue, That it must be theirs that could get possession; which prov'd to be the Genoeses, who to maintain their *Maß*, armed the Church with Fortifications (not for example to after-Ages) and so kept it wholly to their own Use: Thus began the Quarrel, which continued for many years, chiefly by Sea, till at last the Genoeses received such dangerous shot betwixt winde and water, that they were fain to cry Quarter, and ever since vail to *Venice*, acknowledging it their superiour.

Even so was it between these two mighty Republiques, *England* and the United Provinces. The Dutch fearing that current of Traffick would be stopped which they had so long enjoyed, by reason of *Englands* Domestick and Forreign Wars, themselves, mean while, having Peace with all Nations (except *Portugal*) whereby they increasing their Trade by an uninterrupted fishing in the British Seas, and still greedy in their unsatiable appetite of ingrossing all to themselves, without either Right or Reason; grew at last highly conceited of their own abilities, both as to Policy and Power. Their Policy was seen in giving assistance to the Enemies of the Eng-

lish Parliament, whilst in the mean time, their Embassadors tickled the Council of State and Parliament into a belief of their Masters real affections and hearty wishes for their prosperity. But these unworthy actions being privately suspected, it was not long before they were publicly detected: This put the Dutch to their *Trumps*, and made them arm out a considerable Navy, to execute a designe upon the Isle of *Scilly*, which then was in possession of the Scotch Kings Forces. But the Council of State in *England* having timely notice of this project, dispatched away *Blake* (their noble General by sea) with a Fleet of Men of War, who being joyned with *Sir George Ascue*, immediately prevented the Dutch, by reducing that Island under obedience.

The Parliament of *England* having seriously considered the unhandsome actions of these their neer Neighbours, how refractory they were upon all Treaties of Amity, which was seen by their refusing those Propositions which were sent to them; and how those honourable Persons that carried them to *Holland*, were dayly so ill treated at the *Hague* by some insolent per-

persons, that the Parliament, lest their Embassadors should again be *Dorislans'd*, called them home *Reinfesta*: Presently upon this, they were forc'd to take up a resolution to maintain the Right of their Jurisdiction on the British Seas, and therefore sent abroad an Act for encouraging Navigation, and increase of shipping. This very much heightned the spirits of the English Sea-men, and gave them hopes of being one day even with the Dutch, for eating the bread out of their mouthes, as they had long before done, by bringing all Commodities into *England*, at cheaper rates then they could be sent for, by reason they were in Amity with most Nations, and could send out ships with no more men then what served to sail them; whilst in the mean time, the English (having Wars with most of their Neighbours) were inforc't to be at great charges in double-manning out their Merchant Men, for security of the ships lading. But to proceed.

This noble Act being arrived at *Holland*, very strangely changed the constitution of that People, from a Flegmatick to a perfect Sanguine Complexion: for now they saw it was time to look about them, being

being like to be deprived of that sweet profit which before they did enjoy: This animated them on to try conclusions, in denying the English their undoubted Right of Dominion in the British seas. At first, it was put in practise by some particular men of War, to see if the English would relinquish that old complement of striking the Top-sail: but in this they met with sharp rebukes, far surpassing imagination, so that many times present Ruine did befall them, that in wilful refusal durst deny this ancient Custom.

Thus by degrees one Quarrel begetting another, the fire no longer smothered, but brook forth into a dreadful combustion; all preceding ages since the Creation, never having produced such terrible Sea-fights, which ever light heavy on the Dutch shoulders, and made them know, That although *Holland* was the elder State, yet was it impossible for them to make *England* a younger Brother.

But in the midst of all these high undertakings, the Lord General perceiving the Parliaments intentions were to perpetuate their sitting, as appeared by their delatory

proceeding in the Bill for successive Representatives; therefore knowing, that as standing water would breed corruption, and grow offensive, if it were not sometimes changed: so Parliaments perpetual were offensive to the Peoples Priviledges; but when *pro tempore*, pleasant to their sight. He having well weighed the matter, and deliberately debated the business with his Council of Officers, it was at last agreed by them to serve the Parliament with a Writ of Ease, and make them understand the meaning of *Exit*. — This resolution being taken up, the Lord General *Cromwel* went into the House, attended by some of the prime Officers of the Army, where he delivered certain Reasons for a present Dissolution of the Parliament: which were no sooner heard, but all the Members in obedience avoyded the place, and every one betook himself to his particular habitation.

Thus this mighty Parliament was dissolved, who first of all were called through the importunity of the people, and afterwards upheld by the zealous devotion of the City of *London*, whose inhabitants, through their abundant affections, made them

220 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
 them a free-will offering of all their Ear-
 rings, Bodkins, Thimbles, and Jewels
 to carry on the weighty great work of re-
 forming Popery, beating down of Antichristian
 suppressing Superstition; and out of all
 raise up a Glorious Structure of Reforma-
 tion.

To answer expectations, this Senate be-
 gan the work with the Kings evil Councils
 and having lopped them off, drove on
 such great Actions, that the faith of after
 Ages will be much puzzled to believe, and
 rather look upon them as Romances than
 Realities. But now their time being come
 after twelve years sitting, they were anni-
 hilated, and the power transferred into the
 hands of others.

Presently upon this, the Lord General
Cromwel and his Council of Officers pub-
 lished a Declaration, shewing the Reasons
 of the Parliaments Dissolution; the sub-
 stance whereof, was this:

That after God was pleased miracu-
 lously to appear for his People, in
 reducing Ireland and Scotland to
 great a degree of Peace, and England to

His Actions in the Protectorship. 221

to perfect quiet; whereby the Parliament
 had opportunity to give the People the bar-
 nest of all their Labour, Blood and Treas-
 ure; and to settle a due Liberty in re-
 ference to Civil and Spiritual things:
 whereunto they were obliged by their duty,
 engagements, and those great and won-
 derful things God hath wrought for them.
 But they made so little progress therein,
 that it was matter of much grief to the
 good people of the Land; who thereupon
 applied themselves to the Army, expecting
 redress by their means, who (though un-
 willing to meddle with the Civil Authori-
 ty) agreed that such Officers as were
 Members of Parliament should move
 them to proceed vigorously, in reforming
 what was amiss in the Commonwealth,
 and in setting it upon a foundation of
 Justice and Righteousness: which being
 done, it was hoped the Parliament would
 have answered their expectations.

But finding the contrary, they renewed
 their desires by an humble Petition in
 August, 1652. which produced no consi-
 derable

derable effect, nor was any such progress made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was petitioned for; but rather an aversness to the thing themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the People of God and his Spirit acting in them: insomuch that the good Party in Parliament were rendered of no further use, then to countenance the evils of a corrupt Party, for effecting their desires of perpetuating themselves in the Supreme Government.

For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what Remedy might be applyed to prevent the same; but such endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this Parliament, through the corruption of some, the jealousy of others, the non-attendance of many, would never answer those ends which God, his People, and the whole Nation expected from them; But that this Cause which God had so greatly blessed, must needs languish under their hands.

hands, and by degrees be lost; and the Lives, Liberties and Comforts of his people be delivered into their enemies hands.

All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it seemed a Duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means whereby to establish Righteousness and Peace in these Nations.

And after much debate, it was judged necessary, that the Supreme Government should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity for a time, as the most hopeful way to countenance all Gods people, reform the Law, and administer Justice impartially: hoping thereby the people might forget Monarchy, and understand their true interest in the Election of successive Parliaments; that so the Government might be settled upon a right Basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And

And being still resolved to use all means possibly to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a conference, with whom we plainly debated the necessity and justness of our Proposals: The which found no acceptance, but instead thereof was offered, That the way was, to continue still this Parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently insisted on, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim, in the Act they had then under consideration.

For preventing the consummation whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which upon the grounds aforesaid must have ensued, and whereby at one blow the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations embroiled in new troubles, at a time when

our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages against, and some of them actually engaged in war with us; we have been necessitated (though with much reluctance) to put an end to this Parliament.

This Declaration being sent abroad into all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, was readily assented to by most of the chief Officers, both by Land and Sea. But for farther satisfaction to the Civil Power in the Nation, whereby a right understanding might be had, and that every one might still (notwithstanding this sudden change) observe his Duty, the former Declaration was seconded by this ensuing.

Whereas the Parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, are (according to the late Declaration of the 22 of April last) to be called from the several parts of this Commonwealth to the supreme Authority; and although effectual proceedings are and have been had, for perfecting those resolutions, yet some convenient time being

226 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary for preventing the Mischiefs and Inconveniences which may arise in the mean while to the publike Affairs, that a Council of State be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety and present management of the Affairs of this Commonwealth: which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, and in their several places and stations, demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the Laws of the Nation as heretofore: in the exercise and administration whereof, as indeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people, so a strict account will be required, of all such as shall do any thing to indanger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence whatsoever.

April 30.
1653.

O. CROMWELL

These

His Actions in the Protectorship. 227

These wonderful Revolutions mightily heightened the Resolutions of the Dutch, who were wholly possessed with Chimæra's of their own inventions, imagining their work would be very easie, if the English should happen to fall together by the ears, amongst themselves. But GOD by his Providence had so ordered it, that the Nation continued in a peaceable posture, not any offering in the least to resist the Commands of their Superiours.

The like was seen amongst the Naval Forces at Sea, whose vivacity was now as great as ever, both Officers, Sea-men, and Souldiers, minding nothing more then how to gain honour to their Country, by representing the insolencies of their Enemies, whose indeavours at this time were to rob England of her Right.

But now the Lord General having taken upon himself to weild both the Sword and the Scepter, the first remarkable passage that befel him, was at Sea, between the two mighty Antagonists. The Dutch having ready in their Harbours a very great Fleet of Merchant men, outward bound for France, Spain, and other Ports, all things being fitted and prepared for the Sea, those

High

Q 2

High and Mighty States added ninety men of War to secure them from those dangerous Fellows, the English. This Fleet being all ready, they hoist up sail, bidding adieu for the North of *Scotland*; it seems rather chusing to make a long and sure Voyage that way, then a short and dangerous one through *St. George* his channel, which had many times proved fatal to their Fleets, notwithstanding the protection of their best Commanders. *Trump* having according to his Commission, conducted his charge so far, that they feared no other enemy then the winds and waves, immediately tacked about for the *Sound*, from whence he brought away a great Fleet of *East-Land* Merchant-men, from *Russia*, *Denmark*, *Dantzick*, and other Parts; to which was joyned a Fleet from *France*, laden with Wine, Salt, and other Commodities of that Country: having in safety brought all these home, he entered the Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand* with so much Bravery, and so great a Flourish, that those persons that knew not the matter, might have thought him dragging the English Generals at the Stern of his Ship, in Triumph.

This

This good Fortune being seconded with a report of the English Fleet being gone Northward under the Command of General *Monk* and *Dean*, so highly animated *Minhere Martin Harper*, that with all his Men of War he presently set sail for the *Downs*, to act that in the absence of the English Fleet, which he durst not do in their presence.

Being come into the *Downs*, May 25. the Dutch Fleet, consisting of 108 Ships, ranged themselves before *Dover*, where they expressed a great deal of small valour, in beating down with great shot the chimnies of that Town; and with so much resolution and spirit did they perform this worthy exploit, that not any of their ships offered to run away, all the while. This Action of *Trump*'s was looked upon by all, to savour more of Arrogance then Valour: for a gallant souldier will scorn to meddle with him that is incapable of defence, but rather measure weapons with his Enemy before the fight; neither should a General content himself with making a few Tiles fly from the tops of Houses, in a poor Town; which can be but small credit to himself, and not much damage to his Enemy.

But

But we shall see that *Van Trump* will meet with such a match as will give him opportunity enough to exercise his courage to the utmost: for the two Generals *Monk* and *Dean*, upon the sudden returned from the North into *Yarmouth*-Road, where they joyned with that Fortrefs of his Country, General *Blake*, having 18 ships more: These on the 3 of *June* 1653, lying at Anchor three leagues off the south-head of the *Gober*, early in the morning descried two Dutch Gallions, which presently were chased by some of the English Frigats so far, that they came within ken of the whole Dutch Fleet. Upon this discovery, the Frigats made the usual signes, which were presently apprehended by the whole Fleet, who immediately weighing their Anchors, the English made up with all the sail they could: but the winde being weak, 'twas 12 at noon before these mighty Armadoes could ingage.

The first dayes work proved hot on both sides, for three hours; in which Dispute the English lost General *Dean*, who unfortunately fell by a great shot. To balance this, the Dutch had three ships sunk, and one blown up.

The

The next day, both Fleets indeavoured to try another bout, but there being little winde nor wine stirring, but *Brandy*, which was very brisk in the Dutch Fleet, it was late that day before the English could get up to give them Gun-powder to it. This second dayes fight was managed with abundance of valour, both Fleets charging lustily upon one another. *Van Trump* to shew his skill in Sea-fights, at first brought up his Navy in very good Order, having the advantage of that little winde then stirring (for the Sea looked with a smooth face upon these mighty Enemies) But the English Generals, *Blake* and *Monk*, who were not behinde-hand in making use of any opportunity, finding the winde upon the sudden to veer about westerly, drove in amongst the thickest of their Enemies, with so much fury, that the Dutch fearing to feed those that had so many times been food to them, tacked about, and with all the sail that possibly could be made, steered their course for their own Coasts. The English seeing their Enemies thus fly before them, thought it not safe to pursue, being neer the Flats, and having great ships that drew much water.

Where-

Q 4

232 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

Wherefore some small Frigats being sent to discover the Enemies course, the rest cast Anchor in good Order, to cast up accounts, and see what was got or lost by this Adventure; which proved in full, to be thus:

Of the Dutch slain, no certain count.

Dutch Prisoners in possession	1350
Captains captiv'd	6
Men of War taken	11
Sunk	6

Of the English.

Slain	120
Captains	1
Wounded	236
Ships lost or dis-abled	0

This inconsiderable loss on the English side being well recompensed with so considerable a Damage to the Dutch, caused the two English Generals (being no wayes disabled by the fight) to keep the Sea, and resolve to follow the present advantage to the full; therefore having new trimmed their torn sails, and shatter'd Rigging, they immediately made all the haste that could be, to block up the Dutch Harbours; letting *Trump* see that now his Bravadoes were

His Actions in the Protectorship. 233

were transferred from the *Downs*, to his own *Doors*, and that the Fleet which a little before he thought good to send *Hue and Cry* after, were now come to dare him upon his own *Dunghil*; the English at Sea, lying thus before the *Texel, Wielings*, and other Ports of *Holland*, taking Prizes at pleasure.

General *Cromwel* at Land (mean while) prepares for a new Parliament, in whose hands the Legislative Power of the Nation was to be put: to that purpose, persons being chosen by himself, to the number of one hundred forty four, out of the three Nations of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, they made their appearance at *Westminster*, on July 4. 1653. (the day prefixt in their Summons) in the Council-Chamber at *White-hall*, where General *Cromwel* being present, attended by many Officers of the Army, he made a short Speech; which being ended, by a Writing under his own hand and seals, he empowered them to be the Supreme Authority and Governours of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, with all the Territories thereunto belonging: and that any forty of them should be a *Quorum*, sufficient to dispatch business, make Laws

Laws, and order all things as they should see good; onely for their limitation, the Instrument ordered their sitting not to exceed the third of November, 1654. and that three months before their Dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons, to whom they were to deliver up their Powers. Having delivered his Instrument to the Members, the Lord General dismiss them with a Benediction (being very good at it) wishing the Blessing of GOD might go along with them and their Counsels. Immediately hereupon, the Members adjourned to the old Parliament House, where having first appointed Mr. *Rouse* to be Speaker, a great debate arose among them what to call themselves, whether a Parliament, or something else: at last it was carried in the affirmative, That they were a Parliament; in which name, all Addresses to them were to be made.

Being thus settled, they began (though scarce pen-feathered) to soar high, and at first dash to strike both at Law and Gospel.

But whilst these things were under debate, *John Lilburn*, whose turbulent Spirit in the time of the Long Parliament, had

procured his Banishment, presuming at this time to be again admitted into the Nation, very confidently address himself to the Lord General, craving his Protection. But he knowing full well of what spirit *John* was, would take no notice of him, but left him to the Law, by which he underwent a strict Trial, and by the favour of his Jury was acquitted.

This man was ever observed to be of an ambitious minde, alwayes affecting Popularity, and therefore ever barking against the Higher Powers; first against the Bishops, then against the King: next, against the Parliament; and indeed, against every one that stood in his way. Likewise so fickle in his own Principles, that trundling from one Opinion to another, he at last fell down into the sink of Quakerisme, in which he died, and was buried like himself, being hurried along the streets, from the Mouth neer *Aldersgate*, by a confused medley of Levellers and Quakers. But to Sea again.

The English Fleet having out-Trumped the Dutch, and made their *Neptune* fly to Land for shelter, they improved their advantage to the utmost, by blocking up the Ports

Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand*, so that no ship durst pass in or out, but was immediately made Prize. Among those that were taken, were two laden with great Guns, one carrying one hundred sixty two the other, one hundred ninety one.

These daily losses filled the people with rage and madness, seeing they were deprived of Traffick, by which they chiefly subsisted; and if that was obstructed, nothing but a deep consumption would quickly follow. The States General sitting at the Helm, and foreseeing the sad consequence of the present War, seriously debated which way to free themselves from that imminent danger that now hung over their heads. To accomplish this, there was but two wayes; either by Force to repel Force, or by Treaty to procure Peace. To put both these in execution, four Commissioners were dispatched away immediately for *London*, to treat of a Reconciliation; and in the mean time, all imaginable preparations were made to prosecute the War, that so peace might be obtained on better Terms.

Whilst they are thus providing to run the hazard of one blow more, it will not be

be much amiss to give a rough draught of Naval Combats. An ancient Philosopher laughed heartily at the folly of those that durst be so bold to venter themselves at Sea, within two inches of death, for profit. If to sail in a ship so much deserves laughing at, what folly then (nay madness) is it to fight, when all the Elements conspire to make an end of the Combatants? For, the Timber, which is the material substance of a Ship, may be accompted Earth, out of which it is produced, and easily giveth way to penetration by the impartial Bullet, which seldom hits the Hull without Execution, making those Planks fly into splinters, and become the instruments of death, which before were looked upon as a defence and safe-guard from the Enemies shot. The infinite number of great Guns belching forth fire and smoak, so that the superficies of the water seemeth to incorporate with its contrary Element: whilst the serenity of the Air is obfuscated by Clouds of Smoak; the Combatants, mean while, eagre to grapple with each other, are lost in a fog: In one place is to be seen a ship converted into a Bon-fire; and her men fearful to fry, sling themselves

volun-

voluntarily into a cooler kinde of death. In another place is a Vessel depopulated of all her Inhabitants, without Masts, Yards, Tackle, or any other thing that is necessary for her guide; and thus she floats about in a desperate condition. Here are men wanting ships, and there are ships wanting men: and nothing is more studied, then how to alter the natural verdure of the Sea, with the sanguine Purple of humane slaughter. Thus Confusion rides in Triumph; and death at one instant appeareth in various shapes: a neglected match, or accidental spark, being got into the Powder, in a trice conquers the Conquerors, and makes them fly, who before were pursuers. The water, as that bears the Barthen, so it claims a great share in destroying: for at the redoubling sound of the thundring shot, the Billows being backed with a puff of winde, dance a Currant to this doleful musick, and readily attend the destruction of those Vessels that are batter'd berwixt winde and water.

This being the Theorick of Sea-service, let us now see the Practick, as it was acted by the two mighty Antagonists.

The two Generals *Blake* and *Monck* with

with the English Fleet, had now danced attendance at the Dutch doors, for two months together, in all which time, *Van Trump* was preparing the utmost strength that possibly could be made, by the indefatigable industry of the States General. Their Navy being new rigged and tallowed, was set afloat, consisting of 120 sail of Men of War. The most of these lay at the *Wielings*, the rest in the *Texel*. And now to incourage and raise up the resolution of the Sea-men, that so they might atchieve mighty matters, a Proclamation is made, that all the shipping they could take from the English, being Men of War, should be their own; besides some thousands of Guilders to those that durst take the English Admiral, and a proportionable sum for him that could take the Vice-Admiral or his Flag: these promises, with an addition of Brandy-wine, tipt the Dutch mens tongues with valour. *Van Trump* having now all things in readiness, set sail in hopes to return a compleat Victor, thereby to wipe off the stain which formerly had been flung upon his reputation.

July 29. 1653. the English Scouts discovered 95 Men of War to come bravely sailing

sailing from the *Wielings*: they soon knew them to be Enemies, and therefore gave notice, that the whole Fleet (which then lay about three leagues off to Sea) might make up: but the wind facing the English, kept them from the Engagement, until six a clock in the evening; when about thirty nimble Frigats (the rest being still at Stern) began the encounter, and so continued until night parted them.

This first dayes fight did onely whet their appetites to the ensuing slaughter: for all this night the Dutch bore away towards the *Texel*, where joyned with them 25 sail of stout men of War: these were the prime ships of their Navy, wherein they chiefly relied. Their Fleet being thus re-inforced by this conjunction, *Van Trump* immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting posture, to engage the next day: but the night proving foul, the wind in a rough note threatned the poor English with destruction, either on the Flats, or else on a Lee-shore. To prevent these disasters, *Monk*, with the English Fleet, set sail, and stood out to sea: this sight made the Dutch to suppose a flight, inso much that one of their Captains desired *Van Trump*

Van Trump to pursue: For (said he) *these Schellums dare not stand one Broad Side from your Excellency; you may see them plainly running home, and therefore my Lord miss not the opportunity.* This was not the first time that *Trump* had seen the English at Sea, and therefore returned the Captain this short Answer: *Sir, look to your Charge, for were the Enemy but twenty Sail, they would never refuse to fight us.* So it fell out: for the weather proving fair and calm, the English contracted their Fleet together, and in a Body tack'd about to meet the Enemy. Neither was *Trump* behindhand to meet his resolute Adversary; but with as much speed as care he brought his Navy into such a form, as sufficiently manifested the excellent skill he had in managing Maritime Affairs. The Morning to this fatal day proved somewhat gloomy, so that it seemed the Sun was ashamed to behold the ensuing slaughters. About five a Clock in the morning, the Dutch having the Weathergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance; but it was not long before both Fleets were desperately engaged board and board. Now, (as a modern Poet expresseth it)

R,

The

*The Slaughter-breathing-Brass grew hot,
and spoke
In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of
Smoke,
Till the discolour'd Billowes dide in
Grain,
Blusht to behold such Shambles of the
Slain.*

Never was fight upon the Sea better managed and maintained, then this. The *Andrew* (which deserved Saintship for the service) lust aboard *Trumps* own Ship, but was quickly haled off by a Fire-ship which stuck like a Plaister to her side, so that in a trice the Tackle blazed like a Torch; and had it not been for the wonderful courage of some few Sea-men, she had then undoubtedly perished. The like disaster fell upon the *Triumph* a second-rate Ship, which sometimes encountred many at once, but still triumphed over all, till at last a great *Flemish* Ship set her on fire; which began to rage in such a terrible manner, that it wrought the greatest confusion imaginable in the distracted Company; some of them chusing the Flood before the Flames, leaped

leaped over-board and were drowned. The example of those few that ended their lives in this desperate condition, made the rest double their diligence, to save themselves and Ship: which was at last performed; so that the medley growing great, and the fury of the Sailers and Souldiers having banish'd all fear, they boldly board one another. The *Rainbow*, an English Ship, having a long time striven to make prize of others, was at last like to be surprised herself, had not the *Oak* seeing the danger of her fellow, bore in to the Rescue: but this charitable deed reduced the *Oak* to Ashes, she being destroyed by a Fire-ship. Yet for all this, the English (no whit daunted) maintained the Fight with such an obstinate Gallantry, that the Dutch, though high in resolution, were low in hopes of the Victory. And well they might: for what can be expected, when men fight for fear of punishment, as here many did, not so much regarding the honour of Conquest, as the Eyes of the two Lords sent on purpose in a nimble Frigate to observe every Captains Actions?

This bloody Battle now continued with eagerness (but more uncertainty) from five

244 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
in the morning till ten; about which time,
Van Trump, fighting in the midst of the
English Fleet, had a Pass-port sent him for
another world, being shot with a Musquet-
Bullet into the left Breast near the Heart.
What can live, when the Heart is dead?
Trump was the Life of the Action; by
whose example all was guided and direct-
ed: no sooner was his Life spent, but the
Hearts of his men were broken: a general
Consternation suddenly possess'd the whole
Fleet, so that the Sea-men had more minde
to carry home the news of their renown-
ed Generals death, then to take venge-
ance on the English for killing him.

This unfortunate shot made the Dutch
(now the Head was lost) for preservation
of the remaining part of the body, at first
to disengage themselves, still fighting in a
defensive posture; and then about three
a Clock in the evening, to clap on all the
Canvas possible, and haste to their own
Ports. It had been happy if all could have
made the like speed; but that was forbid-
den by the English, who had sunk and fired
27 of their Men of War, and killed them
upwards of 2000 men, besides six Captains
and 1000 Prisoners taken: but the loss
of

His Actions in the Protectorship. 245
of losses was the General *Van Trump*; to
conquer whom alone, had been a Victory
sufficient to deserve a Triumph: hereby
the States of *Holland* were deprived of as
able a Sea-man as ever sailed the Ocean:
he was a man serious in deliberation; but
when resolved, truly valiant in Action;
which was sufficiently manifest in that e-
minent service he performed for the safety
and honour of his Country against *Don*
Antonio d' Oquendo, in the year 1639,
when with a small Fleet he fought the Spa-
niards in the Downs, and without any
great trouble brought that great *Armado*
to nothing, wherein was imbarqued 23000
Souldiers, besides Mariners. This he did
with so much generosity, that when the
Spanish General durst not set to Sea from
under the protection of *Dover-castle*, for
want of Powder, *Trump* offered to supply
him therewith, and afterwards to fight him.
He was ever observed to be a zealous Af-
fector of the *Orange* Interest, both at home
and abroad; this made him so eager to fo-
ment and drive on the War between *Eng-*
land and *Holland*, because the posterity of
King *Charles* (Father-in-law to the Prince
of *Orange*) were excluded from Govern-
ment.

ment. Some Obligations he had received from the said King, as Knighthood at Dover, anno 1641. and gifts at the same time, which sufficiently manifested the Bounty of the Donor. This is certain, that the fall of this great man did very much conduce to the future Peace between the two Republicks, which quickly after followed.

Trump's death was not without loss on the English side: for no less then six Captains, with 400 Souldiers and Sea-men took leave of this, to bear him company into the other World: besides these, there was wounded six Captains, and 700 of the inferiour sort: but for shipping, the loss was so small, that it may cause wonder; for no more miscarried then the *Oak*, a Ship of about 30 Guns, and a small Fire-ship besides: but yet the rest of the Navy were so much wounded, that they made home to repair Breaches, and recruit for another Expedition. Thus the *English Mastiff* baited the *Belgick Lyon*, till she made him run roaring home for shelter.

Whilst these Successes were given abroad, discontent rages at home among the most

most sober sort of people, caused by the strange Actings of the Parliament, who had now sate six moneths, and hatched little more then the Act for Marriages; which was made, more to vex the Clergie, than please the Laity. This was but a branch of the Ministers maintenance, the body being Tythes, was with might and main endeavoured to be hewen down to the ground: but the event answered not the intent; for a Committee being purposely appointed to consider of this weighty business, and make report to the House; the Legality of it both by the Laws of God and man, was so largely and clearly proved before them, that after a full hearing, and serious consideration of the whole matter, the Committee returned an Affirmative report for Tythes: but yet for all this, many of the Members being desirous to lay open a gap for confusion, did very stily argue against the Ministerial Function, making it little better then Antichristian, and Burdensome to the people. Of this humour there were no fewer then 60 of the Members, and for the Ministry 84. these last were the Major part, which very wisely (fearing the Minor would undermine them, by watching all oppor-

opportunities to accomplish their designs) did resolve to break up house-keeping: which motion being made by a Member, Munday December 12. it was readily assented unto; so that the Speaker adjourned to *White-hall*, and delivered up the Powers they had received, to General *Cromwel* again.

As the Magnitude of *Hercules* body was once drawn by the dimension of his foot; so the policy of *Cromwel* may be seen in the Actions of this pack'd Parliament; as may be perceived by a rational Answer to these following Queries:

1. *Whether the Parliament did not make way for Cromwel's future greatness, intaking away the Engagement, under pretence of liberty for tender consciences that scrupled the taking of it.*

2. *When Cromwel earnestly desired the several Members of this Parliament to remember Tythes and the Universities, whether he meant the extirpation or confirmation of them.*

3. *Whether some of this Parliament-Members violent endeavours to level the Law in its practice, and the Gospel in the preaching*

preaching thereof, was not a designe of Cromwels, to render the Members odious to the vulgar, that so his own Government might be the more acceptable to the people.

4. *Whether it was an Act of Grace or Gratitude in the Parliament, to make Cromwel a Member of that which he had made a Body.*

5. *Whether the picking of this Parliament was intended more for publick good, or private designs.*

The Lord General having now got the Civil and Military Powers into his Hands by this Resignation, made use of them to his best advantage. First of all, he called a Council of Officers; and joyning with them certain other persons to advise, it was by them (not without abundant seeking of God, and speaking from several places of Scripture which lay much upon the spirits of many in this Assembly) resolved to have a Commonwealth in a Single Person; which person should be the Lord General *Cromwel*, under the Title and Dignity of Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. To him was assigned

250 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
 a Council consisting of One and twenty, to be assistants in the Government. But because there can be no Superstructure without a Basis, an *Instrument* was framed to be the Foundation of this present Government: which chiefly was made up of these following Heads.

1. The Protector should call a Parliament every three years.
2. That the first should assemble on the third of September 1654.
3. That he should not dissolve the Parliament till it had sate five moneths.
4. That such Bills as they offered to him, he not passing them in twenty days, should pass without him.
5. That he should have a select Council, not exceeding one and twenty, nor under thirteen.
6. That immediately after his death, the Council should chuse another Protector before they rose.
7. That no Protector after him should be General of the Army.
8. That

His Actions in the Protectorship. 251

8. That the Protector should have power to make Peace or War.
9. That in the Intervals of Parliament, he and his Council might make Laws that should be binding to the Subject, &c.

But now to make these things binding to the Conscience of this Grand Magistrate, December 16. 1653. he in great state went from *White-hall* to *Westminster*, where in the Chancery Court, before the Judges, Maior and Aldermen of *London*, with the chiefest Officers of the Nation, he did solemnly swear, To accept of the Government; and promised in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the *Instrument*, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of his understanding, govern the Nations according to the *Laws, Statutes and Customs*; seek their peace, causing Justice and Law to be equally administred.

This Oath being publicly known, the Ceremony concluded with great Acclamations of certain Souldiers. Presently after, this following Proclamation by the Coun-

252 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
Council was published through England,
Scotland and Ireland.

Whereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and successive triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwel Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every Person and Persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.

Nothing could satisfy *Cæsars* Ambition but a perpetual Dictatorship; nor *Alexander's*, but to have more worlds to conquer; and why then should our *Cromwells* having

His Actions in the Protectorship. 253
having the same aspiration, (and inspiration above them) be satisfied with less than a perpetual Protectorship? Ambition is of such a Nature, that to be first in a Village, pleases better than the second place in a City; but to satisfy an ambitious Appetite sufficiently with honour, is impossible; unless he can clime so high, that none dares ask how he came to that height.

To this Elevation is the Subject of our Discourse come, that his thoughts can rise no higher, then how to keep in Peace what he hath got by Policy. The City of London (as there can be no great change without its Concurrence) presently invites the Protector to a great Feast at *Grocers-Hall*, where his Entertainment was more suitable to the former Splendor, than present Exigence of that once-flourishing City. Immediately after, some Paper-kites flew out of the Country to Court from particular persons, making Demonstration of Congratulation and real Obedience: These bore in the Front the Title of *Addressees* from all the good people in the Nation; when it was well known, that those whose Blood had purchas'd them Liberty from under one Person, would ne-
ver

254 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
ver subscribe themselves *Slaves* to another.

The Protector began his Reign with seeming Serenity, insomuch that many expected *Halcyon* days; such Sanctity appeared in the Countenance of this Governor: his Tongue on all occasions was ript with Lamentations at the Effusion of Christian Blood, and customarily would bemoan the *Animosities* amongst the people, caused by diversity in Religion: Yet for all that, when any Overtures were made to him tending to a Settlement and Conformity in Religion, then, *his power was no greater in the Nation than a Constable's who is to keep peace and quietness amongst all parties.* Thus he behaved himself towards the Ecclesiasticks.

But now we come to his first grand Action of State, the Negotiation of the Dutch Peace. This War had been gallantly maintained by the long Parliament, who in many Fights filled our Harbours with Prizes, which weakened much the united Provinces; but every bout augmented the Valour and Resolution of the English Seamen: so that in a little while, the dread

His Actions in the Protectorship. 255
of this Adversary was turned into contempt.

I will not yet in the least derogate from the worth of this brave Enemy: for in all Encounters, their endeavours were good; & might have been better, if Sobriety amongst the Sea-men had been well observed; but 'tis sad fighting, when the Can charged with *Brandy*, must be a Gun to conquer an Enemy: these weapons usually conquered themselves, and made way to their own destruction. But now to shew in part the Dutch Ingratitude, it will not be much amiss to remember what *England* hath done for them.

Time was, when the (*High and Mighty*) States of *Holland*, not able to help themselves, implored (as *poor and distressed*) Queen *Elizabeth's* assistance: she readily condescending, sent them over a well-furnished Army commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*. These were but the forlorn to greater Bodies, which after were transported under the Conduct of those brave Commanders, *Norris, Vere, Sidney*, and many more, whose blood laid the Foundation of that Commonwealth: These were the Men that cut the Spanish Yoak from off their

their Necks, and never offered to sheath their Swords, until the Dutch were fully posselt of their Liberties. But O Ingratitude! this was no sooner done, but the Deed forgotten: For in King *James* his time, many Depredations were secretly committed on the English by them: It may suffice if we mention no more but onely the business of *Amboyna*, which sufficiently witnesseth how far their Will would have extended, had they had power sufficient to execute it. Afterwards, King *Charles* perceiving their enchroaching, sent forth a brave Fleet, (which hurt himself more then any body else; for it raised so hideous a storm amongst his Subjects upon the payment of Ship-money, that never after could be appeased, till his Head was blown off his Shoulders) these lying in the *Downes* under command of *Dover-castle*, to protect a *Spanish Armada* intending for *Flanders*, the Spaniards were boldly sent upon by the Dutch, and utterly destroyed. Had this presumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* met with a vindictive King, it would not have been so silently connived at. These Affronts being thus slightly passed by, imboldened them to attempt higher matters:

matters: for the English Nation on a sudden involved in a Domestick War, they made use of this opportunity to fish freely on the English Coast; which they continued so long, that from custome, they would argue a right; because they had done it, therefore they ought to do it still: presuming withall, to make *Englands* Harbors the bounds to their Sovereignty. A rich Bank of Treasure, and great strength in shipping, prompted them to this project; and the rather, because *England* was wasted by War, and disunited amongst themselves: Now they thought it their time to attempt the designe, wherein they fancied an assured and absolute Conquest; not at all considering what advantages in Navigation *England* hath over them; as first, not a ship can well pass the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calice*, but must run the hazard to be snapt in their passage, unless they sailed under protection of a strong Fleet of War. Secondly, in stormy Weather the Winds would inforce ships at Sea to put into the English Harbours for shelter. In both which respects, it must needs be very prejudicial to the Dutch, if they fell out with *England*: their Traffick

this way being stopt up, no other means remained to continue a Trade to *France, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, East and West Indies*; but by the North of *Scotland*, with a Circumference about *Ireland*, whereby the Merchant must necessarily be exposed to a double danger in respect of Enemies: And that which is more unavoydable, the tempestuousness of the Sea in this Northerly Latitude, would have rendred their passage that way both unsafe and uncomfortable. But it seems these Considerations never entred into the thoughts of that State; their minds were onely troubled with dividing Spoils, and how to give Laws by Sea to the whole world. This high conceit of Fortitude, many times bars up the doors against prudential Counsels. Well, blinded as the Dutch were, *Van Trump*, that leading Card against the English Commonwealth, must begin the Game, and that when their Embassadors were in Treaty at *London*.

The Parliament of *England* remembering their late saucy Action in the *Dowry*, resolved to make it redound to the honour of *England*: to that end, they fell into a close debate of the Nations right in those Seas: now

now *Mare Clausum* speaks English, to let every one see the Dominion of the Narrow Sea is *Englands* safety and Protector, under Divine Providence, from the fury of forraign Foes, which if it were lost, a Confluence of all Nations would quickly subjugate the Land to their will. How sensible the Senate and People of *England* were of this, is easily seen by the industrious Counsels of the one, and incomparable Valour of the other; so that in a few moneths the Dutch sustained more loss by this their wilful undertaking, then before they had done in several years War with the *Spaniard*. The English Parliament being thus engaged in a defensive War, quickly changed the Scène to offensive, maintaining it with wonderful Policy and Prudence: but on a suddain, in steep General *Cromwel*, and juttled them out of Power, taking upon himself to end this War. He fought the *Hollander* twice prosperously, which brought over into *England* four Embassadors extraordinary to sollicite a Peace: these using pecuniary Perswasions, so far prevailed with the Protector, as made him balance the publick Concernments with his private Interest; and so granted their desires.

The Peace being thus concluded, and published, the people of *England* were then perswaded to a general Thanksgiving, by a Declaration, partly made up of nine Verses out of the 107 *Psalm*. To make observation on *Englands* Profit by this Peace, is needless; that I will leave for the Merchant to rejoyce in.

Actions of State are like the Billows of the Sea, one designe drives forward another, as they are agitated by the Princes breath. No sooner was peace proclaimed abroad, but Plots commenced at home: the chief Designers were two *Gerrards*, Brothers, one *Jones* an Apothecary, *Tender, Fow,* and *Vowel*: some of these (*through mercy*) were saved, but *Vowel* and *Gerrard* must suffer for example.

In the same Juncture of time fell out an arrogant exploit of *Don Pantaleon Sa*, brother to the *Portugal Embassadour*: this man being followed by a fanatic Crew, came one evening to the New Exchange armed with Swords, Pistols, and Hand-gradoes: what the original provocative to this designe was, is uncertain: however, one wrapt in Buff (a bold Blade no doubt) being followed by Knights of *Malta*,
Foot-

Foot-boys, and the like, ascended the Stairs into the upper Exchange, where firing a Pistol, a Gentleman there walking, was slain. There happened to be walking the same time this *Gerrard* above-mentioned: he seeing their Countenances not so swarthy as this deed was fable, draws his Rapier, and with a magnanimous spirit drove them all before him down stairs. The Lord Protector having notice of these *Portugals* frolique, upon examination resolved to proceed thereupon without respect of persons, and to make the chiefest Actor an example of Justice; which being found to be the Embassadours Brother, he was condemned for this ridiculous riot, and executed at *Tower-hill* on the same Scaffold (though for different causes) with generous *Gerrard*. The eyes of the Spectators never beheld such different tempers in two men: *Gerrard* no way appald in countenance or behaviour, like a true Englishman, out-braved Death on the very Block. His body being removed out of sight, up came *Don Pontaleon Sa* the *Portugal*, with a body too heavy for its supporters, and a countenance which sufficiently demonstrated, that the terrour of his heart had in a manner made
him

him insensible of the smart of the Executioners Ax ; so that many present believed his head served onely to satisfie the Law, his life being already fled through fear.

But now on a suddain there breaks forth an Insurrection in the *Highlands* of *Scotland* : these mountanous people having little to loose but their lives, would ever be trying to shake the English yolk from off their necks. The chief bellows to blow these miserable men to destruction, was the Earl of *Glencarne*, a man whose industry was ever pregnant in contriving new designs against the English : he having now drawn together a considerable strength, proclaimed to his fellows what great assistance would be waisted over to them from the Low Countries, by which means it might be easie (if unanimous) to obtain their Liberty, and get immortal Fame by freeing their Country from the present subjection it lay under. This was heard with general applause, and sprightly prosecuted, especially now *Middleton* was come from the *Netherlands* with the promised provisions for War. This *Middleton*, amongst other things, brought a special Commission to be Commander in chief over

ver all those then in Arms ; and under him in the next degree was *Monro* Lieutenant General. This spoiled all ; for *Glencarne* scorned to raise an Army for others to command ; he loved the Cause well, but would not be disparaged by it : must he foment and stir up others, to be brought down himself ? or take pains for others gains ? No, he would not endure this, seeing it was a diminution to his honour, which as a Souldier he equally prized with life. On the other side, *Middleton* was too stiff to stoop ; he stoutly stood to have *Monro* in the second place of Superiority. The consideration of the dangerous consequence of this falling out, made all the Gentlemen endeavour a Unity : which endeavours prevailed so far, as to procure a reconciliation between *Middleton* and *Glencarne*, provided *Glencarne* might be made Lieutenant General. But the pride of *Monro* could by no means condescend to this motion.

V When thus they had bandied together for some time, at last *Glencarne* challengeth *Monro* to a single Combat ; which being accepted of, on a certain morning they fought, with fortunate success to *Glencarne*, who

who wounded and disarmed his Adversary, and then immediately after left the Army with about 500 Gentlemen, who made their composition with the Governour of *Dunbarton* to live peaceably at home, and leave *Middleton* to shift for himself.

Thus dissention among the Grandees leading the Van, destruction quickly after brought up the Reare. For General *Monk* with the English being not ignorant of these transactions among the Highlanders, and delaying for some time to march against them, till he had seen the event of their divisions, and observed his opportunity to suppress them; upon certain intelligence of their motion, he advanced to meet them; and engaging *Middleton* at *Lough-gerry*, after some small bickering the Scots were wholly routed, and *Middleton* enforced to flee back again into *Holland*.

The Lord Protector in *England* seeing on what a ticklish Foundation his greatness stood (for though he had obtained a Government, yet was it not confirmed to him by the People) therefore according to the tenure of the *Instrument of Government*, he summoned a Parliament to assemble at *Westminster*, *Septemb. 3. 1659.* when there ap-

appeared a great number of grave judicious persons, men that sufficiently understood the peoples priviledges, having many times before been Champions to defend them from the encroachments of Usurpers. The day before their sitting, the Protector went by water from *White-hall* to the *Painted Chamber*, whither he sent for the Members; where they being come, he desired their company to hear a Sermon at the *Abby-Church* the next day, and afterwards he would impart his minde to them. About nine in the morning, his Highness (not much affecting pomp and bravery) rode in his Coach to the Church: with him there sat his Son *Henry* and the Lord *Lambert*: his Gentlemen very richly clad, marched first, bare-headed; next before the Coach, went the Pages; and on one side of the Coach walked on foot Mr. *Strickland* one of the Council, and Captain of the Guard, together with the Master of the Ceremonies; on the other side, in like manner, was Captain *Howard* Captain of the Life-guard. After these, followed in Coaches, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, of the Treasury, and the Council; at last, the ordinary Guard of

266 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
of the Protector put an end to the train. In this manner he went to the Abby. As he entered the Church, there was born before him four Maces, the Purse and a Sword, which the Lord Lambert carried, bare-headed.

When Dr. Goodwin had ended his Sermon, the Protector and Parliament went to the Painted Chamber, where he declared to the Members in a set Speech, (briefly thus:)

That the Parliament then met, were such a Congregation as England never saw before; and that it might be a matter worthy such a meeting, to give a Series of Gods Providence all along to these times; but that being well known to most of them, he should proceed to let them know in what condition these Nations were when this Government was erected. Every mans heart was then against another: that we had then our humors and interests, and every thing almost was grown Arbitrary. Next of all, what a prodigious contempt there was of God and Christ.

His Actions in the Protectorship. 267
Christ; the Grace of God was turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak for vile practises: yet many would say, Matters of Religion belonged not to the Magistrate, he was onely to look to the outer man, not to meddle with the inner. Nay, the abomination was swell'd to that height, that the Ax was laid to the root of the Ministry, as Babylonish and Antichristian. While these things were in the midst of us, and the Nation rent and torn, one Family against another, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but overturn, overturn, overturn; at the some time swarms of Jesuites coming over, having their Consistories abroad to rule all the Affairs of England, and the dependencies thereof. Withall, the Nation was deeply engaged in a war with PORTUGAL, HOLLAND and FRANCE. In such a heap of Confusion was this Nation, that a speedy remedy must be applyed, and hath been applyed. This Government (let men say what they will) is calculated for the peoples interest. That

That for his own part, he could with humbleness towards God, and modesty before them, recount something in the behalf of it. First, it had endeavour'd to reform the Law: it hath put into seats of Justice men of known integrity and ability: it hath settled a way for probation of Ministers to preach the Gospel. And besides, it hath called a free Parliament (blessed be God) we see this day a free Parliament. As for the Wars; a peace is made with Sweden, Denmark, the Dutch and Portugal: moreover, at this time a treaty is depending with France. These things are but Entrances and Doors of hope: but now he made no question to enable them to lay the top-stone of this work. This Maxime he recommended to their observation, that Peace, though it be made, is not to be trusted farther than it consists with Interest. The great work that now lay upon this Parliament, was, that the Government of Ireland might be settled in terms of honour, and that themselves would manage Affairs with

with Prudence, lest forraign States retain hopes of advantage by their confusions. For himself, he did not speak like one that would be a Lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them in this great Affair. To conclude, he wished them to repair to their own house, and there use their Liberty in the choice of a Speaker.

The Protector having ended his Speech, the Members immediately repaired to the Parliament-house, and chose *William Lenthall* Master of the Rolls to be their Speaker; then they resolved to tune the Instrument of Government. The first debate was, Whether the Legislative Power should be in a single Person and a Parliament. This Ball was bandied about for some time. The Protector leans with might and main endeavour'd to have the Question resolved to be no question, but rather to be passed immediately in the Affirmative. This was strenuously opposed by the major part of the House: amongst the rest, a noble Gentleman stood up and made an excellent Speech, wherein he shewed the Snares that

then

then were laid to entrap the Peoples Privileges: for his own part, he declared that God had made him Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one person, and now he could not endure to see the Nations Liberties ready to be shakled by another, whose right to the Government could be measured out no other ways then by the length of his Sword; 'twas this imboldned him to command his Commanders. To the same effect many more Speeches were made, in direct opposition to a single Person.

Thus the Parliament for eight days together run divisions upon the Protectors Instrument, till it jarred so much, that it was impossible to play one pleasant Tune for the Court to dance after. This highly offended his Highness, and made him resolve to put the Parliament into a better mode, if possible: to which end, away he goes by water to the painted Chamber, and there sent for all the Members of Parliament then sitting, to appear presently before him: there he declared,

That his sorrow was very great, to find them falling into heats and divisions; he would

would have them take notice of this, that the same Government that made them a Parliament, made him a Protector; and as they were intrusted with some things, so he with other things. In the Government there was Fundamentals that could not be altered: as,

1. That the Government should be in one Person and a Parliament.

2. That Parliaments should not be made perpetual, nor always sitting.

3. The Militia was not to be trusted in any one hand or power, but so, that the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, and the Protector upon the Parliament.

4. That in matters of Religion, there ought to be Liberty of Conscience, and means used to prevent Persecution.

For the rest of the things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require. For his own part (he told them) his heart was even overwhelmed with grief to see that any of them should go about to overthrow

272 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
throw what was settled, contrary to their
trust received from the people; which could
not but bring on very great inconveni-
ences.

In this manner he perswaded them to
Conformity in his designs: but fearing
words might be little regarded, he there-
fore prepared a Laxative Composition
wrapt up in a Recognition, which was to
be taken as followeth:

*I do hereby promise and engage
to be true and faithful to the Lord
Protector, and the Commonwealth
of England, Scotland and Ire-
land; and shall not (according to
the tenour of the Indenture where-
by I am returned to serve in Par-
liament) propose, or give my con-
sent to alter the Government, as it
is settled in one Person and a Par-
liament.*

This

His Actions in the Protectorship. 273

This dose purged some Members out of
the House; and others again swallowed it
without any reluctancie; so that for all
this, the Parliament (though they looked
somewhat thin) continued sitting five
Moneths after, in which time they did
much, in doing nothing. The Protector
seeing how opposite they were to his
hopes, could not brook these their dilatory
proceedings; and seeing they would not
settle him, he resolves to unhouse them;
and accordingly takes the first opportunity
his Instrument would give him (not slip-
ping one day) and dissolved them.

Upon the very nick of this Catastrophe,
the Court was Alarm'd with news of a
great rising in *Shropshire, Montgomery-
shire, Wilshire, Nottinghamshire, Nor-
thumberland and Yorkshire*; it is needless
to tell the rise and growth of these male-
contents: their folly and fall may suffici-
ently manifest, there were secret invisible
springs that turned the maine wheels of
this Design. However, the Protector
continued still Victorious, and triumphed
over his Enemies.

Long had the World stood in amaze-
ment at the Protectors mighty preparati-
ons,

T

ons, wondering what the intent should be, or event would prove: The Design was too deep to be easily fathomed, being managed with such secrecie, that the chief Commanders both by Land and Sea, who were to put it in practice, knew not at first what they went about; onely this they were assured of, that it was for the honour of God, the good of their Countrey, and would be to themselves a profitable glory. Time, with great industry and vast sums of money, having at last produced two mighty Fleets, one of them was commanded by General *Blake*, who (being fitted onely for the Sea) sailed away to the Straights: about two Months after, the other Fleet put out to Sea, commanded by General *Pen*, who took aboard him a Land-Army, under Conduct of General *Venables*. These Land-Forces being in all three thousand, were divided into five Regiments, under their respective Commanders, and distributed through the Navie, consisting of about thirty Sail of good Ships, but provided with necessaries (neither satiable nor sufficient) for so long a Voyage.

Decemb, the 19th 1654. this Fleet set sail

sail from *Portsmouth* for the *Barbadoes*, the appointed place of *Rendezvous*: it pleased God to give them a speedy passage, insomuch that the 29 of *January*, they were all at Anchor in *Carlisle Bay*, and presently landed their men upon the Island.

The King of *Spain* all this while, not being assured that these Forces were designed against him, yet by many circumstances believing no less, he sent a speedy Mandate to the Marquess *de Leda* Governour of *Dunkirk*, to pass into *England* in the quality of an extraordinary Ambassador, that so he might know the certainty thereof. This gallant Commander (for so indeed he was) presently after arrived at *London* accordingly: but after some stay, finding little satisfaction in his Audiences, he returned back again to give an account to his Master.

But to return: during the abode of the Fleet at the *Barbadoes*, the Generals, Colonels, and inferiour Officers were not negligent in their several stations. General *Pen* caused the Carpenters of each Ship to set up those Shallops which were brought over in Quarters out of *England*:
T 2 And

And ordered the Coopers to trim and fit water-Casks: Besides, he sent two Frigates to *S. Christophers* and *Alexis*, for raising of Voluntiers there. In the mean time, General *Venables* formed a new Regiment of Sea-men to serve upon occasion at Land; these were put under the Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Goodson*; the rest of the Regiments brought out of *England*, were easily compleated to a full number: Likewise, a Troop of gallant Horse were raised by the Islanders, at their own cost and charges (the Carcases of which were afterwards buried in the Souldiers bellies, for want of better food.) But these were not all the strength: for the Planters Servants understanding that if they would serve the State, their time should still go on, and that at last (in spite of their Masters) they should enjoy their Freedoms in as ample a manner as if they had served them; this spurred them on to become Souldiers of Fortune; and many were presently listed into several Regiments accordingly. The Fleet was also augmented by twenty Sail of Dutch Vessels, which were made prize for presuming to traffick with prohibited goods contrary to the Articles of

of Peace betwixt the two Nations. The Land-Army being now in a readiness, their number was found to be so great, that every Ships share was as many as it could well carry. *March 31.* they set sail from the *Barbadoes*, and in six dayes after came by the Lee under *S. Christophers*. Here joyned with them about 1300 more, which came off from several Islands, in hopes to be made for ever. From hence they shaped their course directly for *Hispaniola*. On the 13 of *April* the whole Navie came fair by the Island, and plainly discovered the Town of *Santa Domingo*: immediately hereupon, a Council was called, and the Guides consulted withal: here it was concluded that General *Venables* should go to Land. According to which resolution, the next day he landed about ten Leagues to the Westward of the Town, with 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days Provision of Victuals. No sooner were they landed, but every mans tongue was tip with gold; nothing could be thought on, but the plunder of Plate and Jewels; small things could not enter their mindes: as for Hangings, Household-stuff, &c. they would

would be cumbersome to carry, and therefore they resolved to leave such things behinde them. In this extacy of joy was the Souldiery; when behold, upon a sudden, there appeared a Proclamation from the General, commanding, that when they entered the Town of *Santa Domingo*, no man should presume to plunder either money, Plate, or Jewels, neither kill any tame Cattel, on pain of death. This made the Army look sower on their imaginary sweet-meats; their golden hearts were now turned to leaden heels; so that it was indifferent to them, whether they went farther, or tarried there: Yet for all this, on they marched thorow Woods of incredible thickness, receiving no opposition, except the excessive heat of the Sun, which caused an intolerable drought, that oppressed them sorely; having not had one drop of water in many miles march, but what they carried in their own bladders; so that Urine was as white-wine to them that could swallow it.

General *Pen*, after the landing of these men, set ashore three Regiments more under the command of Colonel *Bullard*, in

a Bay where a fair fresh-water River disburdened it self; this was within two Leagues of the Town, and appointed to be the place for conjunction of the whole Army. It was not long before the General (according to appointment) having peaceably past the Woods, came to the River, and joyned himself with *Bullards* Brigade. Here, upon view, the Army was found to be 9700 (but few fighting) men. From this river the Army halted away to take possession of the Town, which in imagination was already won: there marched on before the rest, a forlorn Hope consisting of 500 men; afterward followed the main body of the Army: in this order they marched within four miles of the Town, when upon the sudden a small party of *Spaniards* encountered the forlorn Hope, and in an instant forced them in confusion thorow the next Regiment, which was also routed: the Body of the Army coming up to their rescue, made the Enemy retire to a Fort hard by in the Woods, without any considerable loss at all to the *Spaniards*: on the English side was slain Captain *Cox*, the chief Guide for the place, & many others.

The General having now seen the im-

becility of his men, through want of water and many other necessities, he caused them to march back again to the River from whence they came, to refresh themselves in order to a full prosecution of the Design in hand. To which end, scaling ladders were made, and two small Drakes mounted, with a Mortar-piece and Grando-shells which were landed from the Fleet: these were conveyed by water to be set on shore at a convenient place near the Town. All things being now in readiness, to try conclusions, the Army once again dislodged, and were by the Guides promised to be brought upon the Town of *S. Domingo* by a private way, where they might pass thorow the Woods free from danger of any Fort. Such a way there certainly was; but these blind Guides taking another to be it, the whole Army were brought near to the place where before they had been shamefully repulsed. The *Spaniards* mean time having certain intelligence by *Negroes* and *Molattoes* of the English march, prepared to entertain them in their passage. April 25. 1655. the whole Army approached near to a Fort which the *Spaniards* had in the Wood built of Brick, in a

triangular form without Flankers: in it were nine Pieces of good Ordinance, and 300 resolute fellows to manage them. The English Army a little before noon approaching near this Fort, were upon the sudden charged by a Party of the Enemy that lay undiscovered among the Trees: these resolute *Spaniards*, being about seventy in number, at first fired a round Volley of small shot upon the forlorne Hope, and then flew in like mad-men with their sharpe Steel Lances upon the English (who were already even suffocated with thirst, and hardly able to stand, much less to fight) so that in a moment the *Generals* running Regiment, with near half the Army, flew back to the Rear, and posselt their fellows there with such a pannick fear, that every one began to shift for himself. Mean while the *Spaniards* pursued their Victory with the greatest slaughter they were able to make: for meeting with no resistance (but what that ever-renowned Gentleman Major-General *Haines* was able to make alone of himself, who never stirred one step, but dyed not unrevengeed in the mid'st of his Enemies,) they wreaked their fury at pleasure on these dastardly dunces; til

till at last, being overcome with killings, they retreated back in Triumph with seven English Colours, the evident Trophies of their Victory. The Retreat of the Enemy, gave opportunity for the living to number the dead: upon view, it was found that 600 were slain outright, 300 wounded, (most in their backs) and besides, 200 more crept into bushes, and ran away to save themselves; which afterwards were knockt on the head by *Negro's* and *Mollatto's*.

Upon this sad disaster, the Army that night drew up nearer the Spanish Fort, as if they intended some mighty matters; and having planted a Morter-Peice in a convenient plot of ground, and all things being ready to do execution on the Fort, upon a sudden the souldiers were ordered to draw off: so the Army without doing any thing, marched away to their old watering place in the Bay. To what intent and purpose this was, I shall be silent, and leave it for others to judge.

The Army being come into the Bay, had not that supply of Victuals from the ships as formerly, but were necessitated by parties to go in the Woods to catch Cattel; which many

many times cost them dear: for the *Negro's* instead of hunting Cows, would oftentimes change their game, and breath them back again to their Quarters. These things brought the Army to such distress, that (fearing to fight for Food abroad) they exercised their Valour at home upon the Troop-horses belonging to their own Army: thus did they continue for some days, till a resolution was taken to imbarck them, and with all speed to make for *Jamaica*. May the third day, (all the remaining part of the Army being shipped) without the least disturbance from the Spaniard, the Fleet set sail for the aforesaid Island. On the tenth of the same moneth, the whole Fleet cast Anchor in *Jamaica* Harbour, and quickly after posselt themselves of *Oristano* the chief Town in the Island: here the Army having taken up their standing, began to plant (which since hath been and is like to prove a bad Neighbour to the adjacent Spanish Islands.) General *Pen* presently after returned for *England*, and was quickly followed by General *Venables*, to give an account to the Court of the brave service they had performed for the honour of their Country; which pleased the Protector so well

284 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
well, that he sent them both to the Tower
of London.

This unfortunate Voyage to *Hispaniola*, cannot well be let pass without some small inspection into the miscarriage of the Action. Where there is want of Food, and Arms fitting for an Army, they must of necessity become a prey to their Enemies: neither of which were sufficiently provided for in the beginning, as they ought to have been. It hath been alwayes the policy of Conquerours, first to possess, and then to plant: but the Wives and Children in this expedition, shewed a confidence in the fruition, before they gained possession. *Alexander* at his entrance into the Wars of *Persia*, had but 35000 men; which proved sufficient to carry on his enterprise. By this we see, two thousand *Cocks* are better to fight then ten thousand *Capons*. But above all, if the spring be corrupted, the stream cannot run clear: Where covetousness is at the root, the branches of a design are alwayes blasted: This made *Achan* prosper no better with his ill gotten gold. A General that will prohibit plundering in an Enemies Country, must resolve to do all the service himself: for Souldiers will suffer

His Actions in the protectorship. 285
suffer him to win all, that must wear all.

To dwell longer on this lamentable lame Story, can be no way useful, unless it be to call to minde that excellent saying, *Man proposeth, but God disposeth*. Therefore to sweeten the bitterness of the blow received in *America*, it will not be much amiss to recount brave *Blakes* successes in *Affrica*. Not long before *Pen* set saile for the unfortunate Islands, *Blake* set forth with a considerable Navy to scowre the *Straights* from Pirates which had much damaged the English Merchants in their passage out of the Levant Sea. At first he beat about on the Spanish Coast, in hopes to finde them roving abroad; but missing of his expectation, a sudden resolution was taken up to fire their nests, and consume their shipping in the very Harbors: to effect this, *April 18. 1655.* the Fleet approaching near *Tunis*, General *Blake* sent to the *Dye*, demanding satisfaction for ships taken, and a speedy release of the poor English taken in them, from their present Captivity. To this Message such an arrogant Answer was returned by the imperious *Turk*, as very much enraged the English Sea-men: insomuch that after a small debate,

286 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

bate, it was concluded to revenge themselves on nine ships that lay in *Porta Ferrino*: the wind at present sitting fair, encouraged a present prosecution of the designed project, which was effected in this manner: At first, there entered the Harbour the Boats of every Ship man'd with resolute Sea-men; and then followed *Blake* himself in the Admiral, with the Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral: These lying within Musket-shot of the Enemies Castle and Forts, plagued them perpetually with whole broad sides, until the Boats had utterly consumed the Turkish men of War, which were reduced to ashes in four hours time, with no more loss to the English, than 25 men slain, and 48 wounded. This may in part wipe off the blemish which stained *Englands* reputation in the former disastrous Expedition.

At this time, the Lord Protector endeavouring to strengthen himself abroad, made an alliance with the *Swede*; the effects of which Peace have since been felt to purpose, in some parts of *Europe*. Then presently after, he constituted Major-Generals, and divided *England* into eleven

His Actions in the Protectorship 287

eleven parcels amongst them. The names of these Vice-Roys, and the Countries allotted to every one's share, were as followeth:

Colonel *Kelsey*

For *Kent* and *Surry*.

Col. *Goff*

For *Sussex*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*.

Gen. *Desbrow*

For *Glostershire*, *Wiltis*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*.

Lieutenant Gen. *Fleetwood*

For *Oxfordshire*, *Bucks*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, *Isle of Ely*, *Essex*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

Major Gen. *Skippon*

For the City of *London*.

Com. Gen. *Whaley*

For *Lincolnshire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Warwick* and *Leicestershire*.

Major *Butler*

For *Northamptonshire*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, and *Huntington*.

Col. *Berry*

For *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Salop*, and *North-Wales*.

Col. *Wortley*

For *Cheshire*, *Lancashire* and *Staffordshire*.
Lord

288 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

Lord Lambert

For Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland,
Westmerland and Northumberland.

Col. Barkstead.

For Westminster and Middlesex.

These Major-Generals in their respective Provinces, did the Protector no small service, in forcing Delinquents to pay the Decimation of their Estates, which was imposed upon them by the Court (for the sins of their youth;) he very well knowing:

*'Tis good for Princes to have all things
fat,*

*Except their subjects; but beware of
that.*

Yet this new device after a while grew troublesome to the grand Projector himself, who fearing they might in time eclipse his own greatness, (if continued) brought them down again to move in an inferior Orb.

Another designe (of a far different nature, but for like ends with the former) was about this time set on foot by the Protector

His Actions in the Protectorship. 289

For, to wit, the re-admission of the Jews into this Nation. This people indeed were sometime Gods peculiar people, to whom pertained the adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises: in so much that Moses thus expostulates with them; *What Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?* But as if all this had not been sufficient, it pleased God so far further to honour them, that of them, according to the flesh, Christ came: who although he were approved of God among them, by miracles, wonders and signs, for their conviction; Yet they entertained him with crucifixion, uttering this direful imprecation thereupon, *His blood be upon us and our children.* God took them at their word. For (not to mention what some affirm, that a bloody issue hath ever since hereditarily descended upon them) not long after (according to Christs prophecy) their City was destroyed, their Temple not on stone left upon another; and themselves ceasing to be a Nation, became (with Cain) Fugitives, and Vagabonds upon the Earth; having

having now, according to that prophetic of *Hosea*) *been many dayes* (yea many years) *without a King, and without a Prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an Ephod, and without a teraphim*; being dispersed amongst all Nations, and hated by all people: remaining nevertheless in such a degree of contumacious obduration, that here in *England* (whither some of them wandred) they crucified children in despite to (and derision of) the name of Christ. For which, and other execrable practices, they were justly expelled this Nation by King *Edward* the first, in the year of Christs incarnation, 1291. And so willing were the people then to be rid of them, that for this Act of that King, the Commons in Parliament freely granted him a whole Fifteenth. Thus they were expelled; and ever since (for the space of 364 years) they have been excluded, without the publike permission of so much as one Synagogue in *England*.

But this our Protector having a large (I say not conscience, but) heart, and being of tender bowels, his charity extended so far, as to plead for the re-entertainment

ment of these guests: to which purpose, he propounded it to several eminent Ministers for their approbation; alleading, that since there is a promise of their Conversion, means must be used to that end, which is the preaching of the Gospel; and that cannot be had, except they be permitted to reside where the Gospel is preached. But (by his leave) when Gods good time is come, there shall not be means wanting to accomplish that work; which being of an extraordinary nature, is not like to be done by ordinary means. Besides, such was (then, and yet is) the temper of the people of *England*, so full of diversities in opinions, and reduced to such an indifferencie in matters of Religion, that it is more then probable, the number of their Proselytes would have exceeded that of our Converts.

But this is not all: for it seems our Protectors charity that we mentioned before, (according to the Proverb) began at home: he had a promise of 200000 l. from the Jews, in case he procured their Toleration here, as saith Mr. *Prynne* in his Narrative, p. 56. which sweet morsel he had swallowed by thus gratifying them, had not the design

design been opposed by Arguments as sharp as weapons of S T E E L.

The War with *Spain* beginning now to wax warm, not onely under the Torrid Zone, but likewise Northwards of the Tropick; the Protector thought it best to annoy this Enemy in as many places as possible; which could not well be brought about without a Peace with *France*, which being effected, roome might be made for English Feet to tread Flemish ground. The French at this time earnestly desired the same: for their chief minister of State Cardinal *Mazarine* saw every Champaign, how prejudicious it was to his Masters Affairs in *Flanders* (especially in besieging a Sea-Port Town) to be without correspondencie with *England*. This gave the Protector not onely opportunity of making up the long continued feud that had been betwixt the two Nations, but to do it on very advantageous terms, wherein the French King was content to deny himself, in sending out of his Dominions his near relations the *Stuarts*; which kindness the Protector requited, with sending him 6000 Foot-Souldiers. Thus the alliance was contracted.

The impediments that hindered Peace with *France* being past over, to the Protector's great content, he set himself wholly to a thorow prosecution of his Wars with *Spain*. For this purpose, the two Generals *Blake* and *Montague*, had with a strong Navie long beleaguered the Port of *Cadiz* by Sea, and with many provocations endeavoured to dare out an Enemy: but the grave-pac'd Spaniard durst not step one stride to drive the English from his coasts; but rather waited the lucky hour, when scarcity of provisions, or distress by weather would do the work to his hand, and save the Limbs and Lives of many good Catholicks which might miscarry in forcing the English farther off. But this piece of Policy little prevailed: for when the Fleet wanted water and other necessities, the Generals found out a way to supply it, by sayling to the Bay of *Wyers* in *Portugal*, whence they were recruited; in the meantime, leaving behind Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of seven Ships to have an eye on *Cadiz*.

Now it hapned that in the absence of the Generals, a stiff gale of wind forc't *Stayner* to ply it off to Sea, which brought him

upon the discovery of an excellent object; it was the King of Spaines Plate-Fleet, richly laden with Gold, Silver, Pearl, and other good commodities newly brought from the *Indies*. The Spaniards at the first sight of the English Frigats, took them for Fisher-boats; which indeed they were, in a sense; for Captain *Stainers* work was to fish for gold; and now seeing so fair a shole swimming, he thought he would be sure to catch some considerable quantity, or lose his life in the attempt: wherefore with these three, the *Speaker*, *Bridgwater*, and *Plymouth* Frigats, (the remaining part of the Squadron being driven to Leeward) he gallantly fell upon the Spanish great Galleons, which were seven in number; and plyed them so sore with great shot, that in few hours the whole Fleet was quite spoyled; one whereof was sunk, another burnt, two forc'd on ground, one run away, and two remained in the Conquerours hands, which were safely conveyed to *England*, and very joyfully received by the Protector, who set apart a particular day to give God thanks for this good success.

The Protector being much necessitated for

for money, and withal impatient to tarry longer for a Confirmation of his Dignity by the People, which although he could not obtain of the preceding Parliament, he hoped he might gain of another; this perswaded him to attempt once more a new Representative: Which being resolved upon, he issued out Writs for Election throughout the three Nations.

But remembering the Speeches and carriage of some in the late Parliament; private intimation was given to certain persons in several Counties, to obstruct (if possible) their Election again in this ensuing Session: yet for all this, the generality of people being swayed by respect, made choyce of them they thought fit, and such as were most able to carry on the weighty affairs of the Commonwealth.

Septemb. 17. 1656. being appointed for the general meeting at *Westminster*, the Members accordingly made their appearance at the Parliament House, where they found (quite contrary to the ancient Priviledge of Parliament) that no Members could enter into the House, except they were first tyed up in a promise, Not

to act any thing prejudicial to the present Government. Many of the Members would not bite at this Bait, but rather chose to return home again, seeing they could not sit with a safe conscience. Those that entered the House, having made choyce of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to be their Speaker, began to act answerable to the Protectors own desire: which we shall see in its due place: mean time, take this ensuing Relation of General *Blakes* worthy exploit against the Spaniard.

Of all the desperate Attempts that ever were made in the World against an Enemy by Sea, this of noble *Blakes* is not inferiour to any: He lying upon the Spanish Coast, had intelligence given him, that the *West-India* Fleet were arrived at the *Canary Islands*, and put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, on the Island of *Tenariff*. Upon this, the Fleet weighs Anchor on the 13 of *April 1657*. and by the 20th of the same Month, were fair in the Offing of *Sancta Cruz*, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish Ships, (sixteen in number) were barricado'd in this Bay, where they lay in a manner Semi-circular. Near

Near to the mouth of this Haven, stands a Castle sufficiently furnished with great Ordinance, which threatned destruction to any that durst enter without its leave into the Harbour: besides this, there stood seven Forts more, round about the Bay, with six, four, and three great Guns apiece, and united together by a Line of Communication from one Fort to another, which was man'd with Musqueteers. To make all safe, *Don Diego Dia-gues*, General of the Spanish Fleet, was not idle, in making provision for the best defence of his Armado: he caused all the smaller ships to be moored close along the shoar, and the six great Galleons stood farther out at anchor, with their broad sides towards the Sea: It hapned at this time, there was a Dutch Merchants ship in the Bay; the Master whereof seeing the English ready to enter, and that a combat would presently be commenced, it made him fear that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoyd some knocks; therefore to save himself, he went to *Don Diego*, and desired his leave to depart the Harbour: For (said he) *I am very sure, Blake will presently be a-*
mongst

mongst you. To this, the resolute *Dun* made no other Reply, but, *Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.*

They that knew *Blakes* courage, could not but know it needless to dare him to an engagement; for himself was ever forward enough to fight, especially when the honour of his Nation lay at stake: like himself were his Sea-men, who never questioned Commands, but readily ran upon the most desperate attempts: which sheweth, that courage in a Commander, infuseth activity in the Souldiers; as here it did in an eminent manner: for *Gen. Blake* having seen his Enemy, presently called a Council of Officers to contrive the best way for carrying on the present exploit. In this Council of War, Glory quite eclipsed hazard; so that little else was discouraged upon, but a quick Execution, which quite buried difficulty in Oblivion. All things being ordered for fight, a Squadron of Ships was drawn out of the whole Fleet to make the first Onset: these were commanded by Captain *Stainer*, in the *Speaker* Frigate; who no sooner had received Orders, but immediately he flew into the Bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the mor-

morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish Fleet, without the least regard to the Forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the Bay, but *Blake* following after, placed certain Ships to pour broad sides into the Castle and Forts; these played their parts so well, that after some time the *Spaniards* found their Forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, *Blake* strikes in with *Stainer*, and bravely fought the Spanish Ships, which were not much inferiour in number to the English, but in men they were far the superior. Here we see, a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make number lie by the Lee: this was manifest; for by two of the Clock in the after-noon, the English had beaten their Enemies out of their Ships.

Now *Blake* seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes: which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish Fleet were reduced to ashes, except two Ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts.

The English having now got a compleat victory

victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the Bay, that many despaired of getting out again. But Gods providence was miraculously seen, in causing the wind upon the sudden to vere about to the South-west (a thing not known in many years before) which brought *Blake* and his Fleet safe to Sea again, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* from the Castle played their great Guns perpetually upon them as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back again to their former station near to *Cadiz*.

Should we compare the vastness of this attempt with the diminutive loss the English received, it may go near to raise incredulity in the Reader. However, it must not be past over in silence. All the men that *Blake* had slain in this fight, which lasted from eight in the morning to seven at night, were but 48, and one hundred and twenty wounded. On the Spanish side, all was lost that could be lost, their whole Fleet being quite destroyed; so that the English gain was nothing but Honour, which ever attended *Blakes* attempts. For

For this good service, the Protector at the Parliaments desire sent this worthy Commander a Ring worth five hundred pounds, and presently after Capt. *Stainer* came to *England* that his Ship might be new fitted for the Sea, which gave the Protector a fair opportunity to clap on his shoulders a whole Knighthood, which served to satisfie for all his brave services.

The Protector, according to a private agreement with *France*, prapared a Brigade of Foot to joyn with the French Army under Command of Marshal *Turin*, that so both together might fall into *Flanders* against the *Spaniards*. The English Forces designed for this service, were 6000. many of them old Souldiers, but most new raised men; over whom Sir *John Reynolds* was made Commander in Chief, and Col. *Morgan* Major-General (who afterwards was Knighted by the Lord *Richard Crommel* for his eminent service) these being provided with all necessaries for a march, were rendezvoused on Blackheath; from whence they marched away to the Sea-side, and were immediately transported over to *Bulloin* in *Picardy*. At their landing, the Souldiers had all new Red-

Red-Coats, distributed amongst them which made such a glistering show, that the French King said he never before saw the like sight. About the later end of *October 1657.* the English were advanced into the Spanish Territories; and being joyned with *Turin*, the whole Army sat down before *Mardike-Fort* lying about two miles from *Dunkirk*. This place was looked upon to be of great importance, and might much conduce to the taking in of *Dunkirk* it self, (as afterwards it proved.) The French and English having beleaguered this strong place, did not lie long before they reduced it to a surrender upon Composition; so that it was delivered up wholly into the possession of the English. But presently after (the French being withdrawn into winter-Quarters) came a strong body of *Spaniards*, and made a fierce *Camisado* upon the Fort, hoping to give the English little joy in their new Conquest; but it fell out quite otherwise: for the assailants were stoutly repulsed, and inforc't to flee, having lost in the attempt several brave Commanders.

The Protector's forraign affairs standing in a posture answerable to his desires,

his domestick designs at the same time did likewise very well correspond thereunto: for the Parliament having sat near nine Months, had in this time past many Acts which crowned the Protector's hopes so fully, that more could not have been desired by him, nor well granted by them. For first, out of a deep sence of his loss (should such a design as bold *Syndercomb's* take effect) they made provisions for the security of his Highness's Person, wherein it was Enacted *High Treason, for any to attempt, compass, or imagine the Protector's death.*

This Act having pared the claws of cholerick humours at home, in three whoops more, the Title of *Charles Stuart, &c.* was utterly defunct. And besides this, (to answer the end for which they were called) round sums of money were granted to carry on the Spanish War (notwithstanding his Highness's late Conquests in the *Indies*) that so the Protector might with more facility bang the legs of that long-limb'd Enemy. The Acts made for this purpose, were these that follow:

An

An Act for an Assessment up-
 on *England*, for three
 Months, at the rate of --- } *Per Mens.*
 On *Scotland*, for three }
 Months, at --- } 60000 l.
 On *Ireland*, for three }
 Months, at --- } 05000 l.
 On *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*
 for three years :

England to pay --- 35000 l.
Scotland, --- 06000 l.
Ireland, --- 09000 l.

An Act for continuing of Tunnage and Poundage.

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of buildings in and about the Suburbs of *London*, and within ten miles thereof: a whole years Revenue to be presently payd, for dwelling or out-Houses that had been reared upon new Foundations since the year 1620.

An Act for Excise of merchandize imported; Hobby-Horses, Childrens Rattles, and old shirts not exempted.

These, with many more, being at once presented to the Protector for his consent,

sent, were by him passed; at which time he made this short Speech to the Parliaments Speaker.

I perceive, that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth, by these Bills for levying of money now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto: and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publike, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.

The Protector thanks for this, could do no less then animate the Parliament to compleat the great work they were about for settlement of the Nation. This business had been dayly debated, and was almost brought to perfection, when on a sudden, a Petition was ushered into the House by a worthy Citizen of *London*, to have his Highness one Tittle higher in his Title. Hereupon, the great Machine of

Englands Government, called the Petition and Advice, was hastened away to the Protectors view, with a desire that his Highness would be pleased to magnifie himself with the Title of KING. Alas! what thing more averse to his nature could be presented to him, then this? It was not to sit in high places, that made him undertake the Government, but rather to be a Servant to his Countrey: Monarchie he knew was as odious to the Army, as (according to the proverb) comparisons among the people; and therefore he could not look upon this otherwise then as a Temptation to try the strength of his resolution against that which before had like to have wrackt the peoples Liberties; which (said he) undoubtedly had fallen out, had not he stept into the sea of bloud, and with invincible Arms preserved the Ship of State from those Piratical inchroachers that were ready to board her. Yet to do nothing unadvisedly, nor without mature deliberation, his Highness took time to return the Parliament this positive answer (to their liquorish desire) which he with much meekness gave them in the Painted Chamber,

Chamber, in these words: *That he could not undertake the Government with the Title of King.* Upon this, the Parliament voted that Protector should be the stile of the chief Magistrate.

All things being now brought to maturity in the *Petition and Advice*, and nothing wanting to make it a Law, but onely the Protectors condescension; a Committee was sent to desire a Conference with his Highness: which he granted, and appointed the place of meeting to be in the Painted Chamber. *May 25. 1657.* his Highness (attended by his chief Officers) came accordingly; and there the Speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington, presented him with the Parliaments *Petition and Advice*; the substance whereof was as followeth:

1. *That his Highness under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the office of chief Magistrate over England, &c. and to govern according to all things in this Petition and Advice: also, that in his lifetime he would appoint the Person that*
should

308 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
should succeed in the Government after
his death.

2. That he would call Parliaments consisting of two Houses, once in three years at farthest.

3. That those Persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members.

4. In the fourth, was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members.

5. In the fifth, the Power of the other House.

6. That the Lawes and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept; and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament,

7. For a constant yearly revenue, ten hundred thousand pounds to be settled for maintenance of the Navy and Army, and three hundred thousand pounds for support of the Government, besides other

His Actions in the Protectorship. 309
other temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require.

8. That the number of the Protectors Council shall not be above one and twenty; whereof the Quorum to be seven, and not under.

9. The chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of the great Seal, &c. to be approved of by Parliament.

10. That his Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile or disturb them in the worship of God, may be punished according to Law; and where the Lawes are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf.

11. That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testaments, be asserted and held forth for the publike profession of these Nations, and no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of these Nations; and none be permitted by words or writings

310 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
writings to revile or reproach the said Con-
fession of Faith, &c.

This is the sum of the most material matters contained in the Parliaments Advice; which the Protector liked very well, and was resolved to follow; yet with much reluctancy in himself, considering the great burthen that was to be borne upon his shoulders, which he had rather any man should bear than himself: but being it was the pleasure of Parliament that none but he must be the buckler to defend Englands Priviledges, he past their Petition, and declared unto the whole Assembly, as followeth:

That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to undertake one of the greatest burthens that ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these Nations. This being
so

His Actions in the Protectorship. 311
so, he must ask help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their prayers he might receive assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to the discharge of so great a duty and trust.

That seeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there being many things which cannot be supplied without the assistance of Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted: for the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the same to them. For his part, nothing would have induced him to take this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care in doing those things, which might really answer the ends that we have engaged for, and make clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and of the Interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various Forms. And if these Nations be so
thank
X 4

312 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
thankful to them for their care therein,
it will fall as a sin on their heads.

Yet there are some things wanting that
tend to reformation, to the discountenancing
vice, & the encouragement of vertue;
but he spake not this as in the least doubting
their progress, but as one that doth
heartily desire, to the end God may Crown
their work, that in their own time, and
with what speed they judge fit, these things
may be provided for.

This Speech being ended, the Members
returned again to the House: and in few
dayes after, the Speaker received a Letter
from the Protector, desiring the Parliament
to adjourn their sitting till further
time. Hereupon, the speedy Inauguration
of his Highness was concluded upon. Accordingly,
June 26. 1657. all things being
prepared in Westminster-Hall for this great
solemnity, the Protector (about two of
the clock in the after-noon) went by water
to the Lords House; and after some
short retirement into a room near the
Painted Chamber, he came forth, attended

His Actions in the Protectorship 313
ded by the chief Grandees of his Court:
all these being marshalled into Ranks and
Files, marched away with his Highness to
the place appointed in Westminster-Hall;
where the Protector having taken his
standing, under a cloath of Estate, the Speaker
(Sir Thomas Widdrington) in the
name of the Parliament presented to him
a Robe of Purple-Velvet lined with
Ermines, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter,
(all which were precious tokens of the
Parliaments favor) at the delivery of these
things, the Speaker made a short Comment
upon them to the Protector, which
he divided into four parts, as followeth.

1. The Robe of Purple, this is an
emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness
and Justice: when you have put on this Vestment,
I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a
mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice
and Mercy. Indeed, a Magistrate must have two hands:
Plectentem, & amplectentem.

2. The Bible is a Book that contains

314 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
tains the Holy Scriptures, in which
you have the happiness to be well versed.
This Book of Life consists of two Testa-
ments, the Old and New: the first is
Christum Velatum; in the second,
is Christum Revelatum: it is a Book
of Books, and doth contain both Pre-
cepts and Examples for good Govern-
ment.

3. Here is a Scepter, not unlike a
staff: for you are to be a staff to the
weak and poor: it is of antient use in
this kind. It's said in Scripture, that
the Scepter shall not depart from
Judah. It was of like use in other King-
doms: Homer the Greeke Poet calls
Kings and Princes, Scepter-Bearers.

4. The last thing is a Sword, not
a Military, but Civil Sword; it is a Sword
rather of defence then offence; not to
defend your self onely, but others also. If
I might presume to fix a Motto upon
this Sword, it should be this: Ego sum
domini Protectoris, ad protegendum
populum meum.

This

His Actions in the Protectorship. 315

This Speech being ended, the Speaker
took the Bible, and gave the Protector his
Oath: afterwards, Mr. Manton made a
prayer, wherein he recommended the
Protector, Parliament, Council, the For-
ces by Land and Sea, Government, and
people of the three Nations, to the Pro-
tection of God. Which being ended, the
Heralds by sound of Trumpet proclaimed
his Highness Protector of England, Scot-
land and Ireland, and the Dominions there-
unto belonging: requiring all persons to
yeeld him due obedience. At the end of
all, the Protector with his Train returned
(a joyful man, no doubt) to White-Hall,
and the Members to the Parliament-
House, where they prorogued their sitting
to the next January.

There is no humane joy free from the
mixture of some sorrow; yea, many times
it falleth out to be equivalent to (if not
superabounding) the joy it self. So it fell
out here: for though the Protector might
rejoyce at this acquisition of a Scepter,
yet the death of General Blake (like a
dish of cold water cast into the boyling
Pot of his rising fortunes) could do no
less then mitigate the heat of it, and
cover

316 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*

cover the Courts countenance with a Cypress Vail.

This noble *Blake* in the beginning of *Englands* distractions, sufficiently testified a high resolution, in his almost miraculous defending of *Lime* and *Taunton* against the furie of Prince *Maurice* and the Lord *Gorings* Armies. Afterwards, the worth of this inestimable great Commander being taken notice of in Parliament, they resolved, it should not long lie hid at home, but shew it self abroad; and therefore he was advanced to be one of their Generals at Sea. At his entrance into this Office, he pent up Prince *Rupert* in the chief Port of *Portugal*, and hunted him from Sea to Sea, till he had reduced those ships with him, which before had revolted from the Parliament.

This was but petty Play, to after-Labours: For no sooner did the quarrel begin between the two Re-publikes, *England*, and the United Provinces, but *Blake* was the first that resisted their arrogancie in the Downs; and ever after continued a fortunate Vindicator of his Countreys Privileges, from the incroachments of insulting Neighbours. The last part he ever acted

His Actions in the Protectorship. 317

acted in a Sea of blood, was against the Spaniards at *Sancta Cruz*; here with 25 Sail, he fought (as it were in a ring) with seven Forts, a Castle, and 16 ships, many of them being of greater force then most of those ships *Blake* carryed in against them: yet in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the Enemy, and brought his Fleet back again to the Coast of *Spain* full fraught with honour. But what Commander is able to repel the stroaks of Death? This is he that doth conquer the Conquerours, and level the Honours of the mightiest Monarchs with the meanest Captains: there is no withstanding his force; for all must fall; *Blake* himself is compell'd to strike the top-sail and yeeld, now death hath got the weather-gage of his crasie body; so that being no longer able to hold out, he expired at the entrance into *Plymouth*.

He was a man wholly devoted to his Countreys Service; resolute in his undertakings, and most faithful in the performance: with him, valour seldom mist its reward, nor cowardize its punishment. When news was brought him of a metamorphosis in the State at home, he would then

in

incourage the Sea-men to be most vigilant abroad: for (said he,) *'Tis not our duty to minde State-Affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us.* In all his Expeditions, the wind seldom deceived him, but most an end stood his friend; especially in his last undertaking at the *Canary Islands*. To his last, he lived a single life, never being espoused to any but his Countreys quarrels. As he lived bravely, he dyed gloriously, and was buried in *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*; yet enjoying at this time no other Monument, but what is reared by his Valour; which Time it self can hardly deface.

The Lord Protector having now ensured his own Greatness, he thought it good to confer Titles of Honour upon his Children; and to that purpose sent his Son *Henry* into *Ireland* with the Title of Lord Deputy. This young Gentleman in his Government ruled with so much discretion, that in small time he had brought that disordered Nation into the most hopeful condition of a flourishing State. But a grand Catastrophe afterwards falling upon the *Cromwells* Government, his Authority reverted into the hands of a subsequent Parliament.

The time of the prorogation of the present Parliament being expired, the Members appeared again at *Westminster* the 20th of *January 1657.* and did presently receive into the House their fellow-Members which the Protector had before secluded from sitting in the first Session of this Parliament. This they did, upon the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice, by which, *no Members legally chosen, should be excluded from performance of their duty, but by consent of Parliament.*

In this interval of the Parliaments sitting, the Protector had provided his Peers which were to make up the other House, who accordingly took Seats in the Lords House: but with so much regret to the House of Commons, whose complexion was quite changed from what it had been formerly, that now they would not own the work of their creation, but looked upon it as a by-blow, a thing by chance, or a Pageant Parliament set up on purpose to mock them. In this surly humour the Protector let them run on for near a fortnight together; till at last they made his Highness wince with handling his

his Prerogative-Royal ; which he being not able to endure, in a fume flew from *White-Hall* to the House of Lords ; and having sent for the Commons before him, he told them, *That it concerned his interest, as much as the Publike Peace and Tranquillity, to terminate this Parliament, and therefore he did now put an end to their sitting.* Thus he blew them away with a sudden puff of winde from his mouth.

But now comes into play a terrible Plot ; no less place then *London* was to be fired, and in the hurly-burly of confusion that it would make, must the Tower be taken, the Mews seized, and all the Soldiers about the City be sacrificed to the fury of — The Protector being well acquainted with these kinde of machinations, knew very well how to stifle them in the birth ; and therefore he sent presently for the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, to forewarne them of the approaching danger, and to Commissionate their *Militia* to raise Forces for security of the City, and by their vigilancy to counter-plot these Plotters. Upon this, many persons were apprehended, a High Court of Justice

stee erected, and Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewyt*, Mr. *Mordant*, and many inferior fellows who were to have been Commanders in the execution of this design, were brought to Trial. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and the Doctor were both condemned to loose their Heads upon Tower-Hill ; and six others (of the meaner sort) were adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered : but of these, onely three suffered : one in Tower-Street, another in Cheapside, and the third, before the Exchange in *London*. For the procuring of Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewyt's* Pardon, great endeavors were used : the Ministers of *London* petitioned the Protector for the Doctors life, and many great persons for the Knights : But the Protectors ears were deaf to all intreaties made in their behalf ; so that nothing could satisfy his anger, but the lives of those two considerable persons.

Prodigies in nature, as they are seldom seen, so when they happen, are sure pre-
sages and fore-tokens of alterations that shall fall out in the place where they do appear. At this time, *June 2. 1658.* arrived an ominous Whale in the River of
Y Thames

Thames, (not to do *Homage* to his Highness (this was a fond conceit) as one would have it) but rather to forewarn him of his end (which not long after happened.) This fish, contrary to its nature, which is to return to Sea when it feels the fresh water, came swimming up the River against the tide as far as *Greenwich*, where it was taken, and found to be fifty eight foot in length, and every way proportionable.

Flanders being the Scène of War, wherein the united Forces of *England* and *France* did intend this Campaign to act mighty matters; in the beginning of *May*, *D' Aumont* a French Marshal, hoping to get a good bargain, turns Merchant, and trucks for *Ostend*. Money, as it over-turns all things, was at this time made use of to corrupt the Noble blood of the Souldiers of that Garison, and make them turn Traytors to this their trust: but the sequel will shew how far honesty is above treachery. The Chief Factor that drove on this bargain, was one Colonel *Spindeler*: he having acquainted the Governour of *Calice* that *Ostend* was to be sold, this Monsieur

mouth presently watered at the motion, and therefore acquaints the Court how a rich commodity was now offered to sale at a cheap rate. The French Grandees presently bite at the bait, little doubting the hook was daub'd over with this pretty pretence, that the Governour, Magistrates and Citizens of *Ostend*, being grieved at the English keeping their Coast blockt up with Ships, to rid themselves of this continual trouble, they would rather be under *France*, then remain any longer in their present condition. This motion being made, they came to a price, and agreed upon a good round sum of money, which Marshal *D' Aumont* was appointed to pay, and take possession of the place at a time agreed on. He being well apaid in the imployment, slyly slippt from *Calice* with three Ships fraught with Souldiers, and soon after fell in amongst a Squadron of English Ships commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, then lying near *Ostend*. The English Commander seeing how confident these the *Protectors Confederates* were in the design they went about, was willing to assist them with Sea-men, the better to facilitate their landing

landing. Whil'st *D' Aumont* was preparing to enter the Town according to agreement, the *Spaniards* within (being a courteous Nation where they take affection) were very active in making preparations for the entertainment of their French Guests: to this end, the Governour of *Ostend* caused the Inhabitants to keep their Houses, and not to stir from thence till they heard the Bells Ring in the City Steeple: then the great Church, and Capuchin Friars Church, with many more secret places, were crowded with clusters of Souldiers; these were to give the French a *Spanish* Fig at their landing. All things being in readiness on both sides, *May* the 4th in the morning, some of the French-men (that were before received into the Town) went out and invited their Countrey-men to come in. *D' Aumont* upon this, and the sight of white Colours placed upon the Walls, (for Deceits,) did not in the least distrust, but took all to be gold that glister'd. Hereupon, the tide beginning to serve, about ten in the morning, four French Vessels, a ship of *Dover*, and six or seven Boats from the English ships, sailed into the Haven; and

and presently the French landing upon the Key, were in a trise drawn up in Battalia. Upon this, certain Spanish Officers went to enquire for the money that was promised them: to which the French returned answer, That it was ready in one of their ships. This being as much as could be expected, the Officers returned into the Town again, and immediately shewed the French an *ala mode* trapanning trick; for the great Guns from two Batteries (one of which was mounted with twelve, the other with eight,) let flie their murdering shot upon the poor French Foot; and to compleat their misery, the Bells rung (as before appointed) which brought the Souldiers and Towns-men about their ears. The French now (when it was too late) seeing how hard a bargain they were like to have, made some small stir at the beginning: but finding it fruitless to resist, they layd down their Arms, and submitted on quarter. Thus much for the taking of *Ostend*.

The flie *Spaniard* having thus flurred their Enemy, it raised in the French an unquenchable thirst of revenge; and therefore to quit scores, the whole French

and English Armies joyned together, resolving to wreak their wrath upon the Town of *Dunkirk*. This place may be called, *The Key of Flanders*, it being a Sea-Port-Town, and (of all men) best known to English Merchants, whose ships were frequently carryed prize into it. But now to put a *finis* to their infinite Losses, a formidable Siege was framed before it, which hotly alarm'd the *Spaniards* in all their Quarters.

Hereupon, *Don John* of *Austria* takes these two things into serious consideration: first, the importance of the place: for its Situation, it was a *Key to Flanders*, a frontier to *France* (next after *Graveling*) and a certain Supply of moneys, by continual booties brought in thither by his men of War. On the other side, should he lose *Dunkirk*, the English (in whose possession it would be put) had a door opened, and fit opportunity to bid fair for all *Flanders*; here might an Army be landed from *England*, and from hence incursions made to the Walls of *Bruxels*. Mean time, the Spanish Ports, *Newport* and *Ostend*, could expect no less then to be perpetually infested by men of

of war; which would utterly spoyl their Trade, and ruine the Inhabitants: these and such like considerations mounted *Don John* upon fixt resolutions to undertake the relief of *Dunkirk*, though it were to the hazard of his whole Army.

Mean while, the Confederate Forces beleaguering this strong place, did in a small time (working like Moles) run their Trenches to the Spanish Counterscarpe; and still encroaching upon the Wall, they promised fair to a speedy accomplishment of their Design. These things were well known to the Spanish Army, who now saw the relief of *Dunkirk* would admit of no delay; for were it not speedily accomplished, the Town of necessity must lie prostrate to the Enemies mercie. The better to effect which therefore, *Don John* the Spanish General having drained his Garisons to fill up his Army, suddenly advanced with 15000 men to the relief of his distressed friends; these by a swift march through *Fuernes*, quickly seated themselves upon some sandy Hills within an English mile and a half of *Turine* the French Generals Camp. The report of the Enemies near advance, made both

the French and English Officers consult upon the best course that could be taken to repel the Force that now sat upon their Skirts, endeavor to frustrate their labours in the present Siege, and render it fruitless. Time for consultation being short (for it was on the over-night) they agreed unanimously to give the *Spaniards* the next morning a warm breakfast. All this night, the Officers of both Nations were very active to provide for the ensuing action; the Army being found sufficient to fight a Field Battel, and at the same time to keep the besieged from ranging abroad. For this service most of the English were drawn from their entrenchment; and being joyned to the French Horse, they marched against the Enemy. In the morning both Armies being come near together, it was perceived, the *Spaniards* posture was rather Defensive than Offensive: but the English Commanders knowing it was no time to dally, and being desirous withall to shew the discipline of their own Country, (which is to make seeing an' fighting all one) did presently mount the Sand-Hills with a forlorn of three hundred Musquetiers commanded by

by Captain *Devaux*: after these followed that courageous Commander Lieutenant-Col. *Fenwick*, with the Lord General *Lockharts* Regiment. The *Spaniards* perceiving that the resolution of these men was by degrees to creep within them, did as highly resolve to keep them off at the Armes end, by pouring down perpetual volleys of great and small shot.

General *Lockhart* knowing what duty belonged to his Office, did here shew the part of a noble Commander: for finding the French unwilling to enter, now the English had opened the gap; and on the other side, seeing the gallantry of his own Regiment, who although they could no longer gain ground, yet still kept their station, notwithstanding they were exposed to the enemies assaults, he caused a considerable Brigade of fresh men to re-inforce those that had first born the brunt of the Battle. This Reserve (through Gen. *Lockhart's* care) coming in time to the relief of their tired fellows, made no long delay, but fell into the Spanish foot with the butt-end of their Musquets; who not being able to withstand their courage, left the Field, and

and fled towards *Fuernes*. The French Horse seeing the good success of the English Foot, did likewise make a charge upon the Spanish Cavalry, who being disheartned with the roaring of their Infantry, thought it their safest course to run after them. But the French shewed excellent valour in pursuit: for the day being won, none durst stand in their way: the poor *Spaniards* were sadly handled by them, and hew'd down on all sides. Being extreemly scatter'd in their flight, both the English and French were put to the trouble of gleaning for Prisoners, which at last were found to be 800 Officers, and about 2000 private Souldiers. How many were slain, is uncertain: for the Conquerours not being willing to loose time in numbering them, made hast hack again in triumph to their former siege.

To particularize in setting forth the gallantry thus expressed on the English side in this encounter, would cause me to exceed my wonted brevity: let it therefore suffice to give an instance thereof in the personal valour of two only; viz. Col. *Jones*, and Major General *Drummond*.

Drummond a Scotch-man, who were most eminent therein: these two Gentlemen came at first to *Dunkirk* only to satisfy their curiosity; but this fight happening in the time of their stay, it raised in them a noble resolution to be no longer idle Spectators, but brave partakers in their Country-mens labors. For Col. *Jones* his part, he at the first onset charged on foot with Lieutenant-Colonel *Fennick*; and after mounting a Horse, fell so desperately on the *Spaniards*, that being too far engaged amongst them, he was made their Prisoner; but afterwards being exchanged, the Protector made him Knight and Baronet in recompence of his valour. Major General *Drummond's* spirit being little inferior to the best in the Field, behaved himself with much bravery; which was so much the more, by how much the less he was concerned in the Quarrel; no obligation inducing him to venture his life, except it were the present engagement of some friends that bound him (through respect to them) to partake of their dangers; which afterwards proved his own death: for in the beginning of the fight, his Horse was shor under him; and presently after, having

having mounted a second, he was by an unhappy push of a Pike dismounted again; yet still prosecuting the service more than minding his own safety, he received a desperate wound that brought him to the grave.

But now to return: The Army having vanquished the Relievers, did renew their attempts with extraordinary vigor upon the Town of *Dunkirk*. The Marquis *de Leda* (Governour thereof) seeing how hardly he was beset, could not contain himself within the narrow compass of his own Walls, but having a desire to beat up the French mens Quarters, he suddenly sallied out of the Town with a strong Party; but alas, all proved to no purpose; the Fates cannot be withstood: neither was he free from error in the attempt. For as if in a natural body (upon apprehension of danger) the vital spirits retire to the heart, life is preserved; but if they forsake that, and depart to the extremities, death ensues: so this *Dunkirk* (being the life of the rest, as indeed all Generals and Governours are to their Armies or Garisons) sallying out in person (that should have been encouraging those in

in the Town) procured his own death, and the miscarriage of his design; therein shewing more valour than discretion. For upon his death, a cold damp seized upon the *Dunkirkers*, who seeing what prodigious Balls of fire were flung out of the English Morter Pieces into the Town, were sorely terrified thereby; and so much the more, in regard of their not being accustomed to such stratagems; his Holiness the Pope having prohibited the use of Granado's amongst his Catholikes, to prevent burning of Churches. Considering therefore that the longer they stood out, the harder would be their termes; And seeing all hope of relief by Land was lost, the Sea secured against them, and daily discouragements arising every way; therefore, to prevent further inconveniences, the *Spaniards* desired a present Capitulation; which being easily granted, it was agreed that the Town should be surrendered upon these following Articles:

- I. That the Town should be yeilded up, with all the great Guns, their stores of Victuals, Magazine of Arms and Ammunition.

334 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
munition, without any imbezement.

2. The Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, Colours flying, two Pieces of Ordnance, and their Baggage.

3. That they should have the liberty to march with a Convoy to conduct them to S. O. ners.

4. The Inhabitants to remain indemnified in their Persons and Goods, and to enjoy their former Customs and Privileges for two years, and not to be molested touching the exercise of their Religion.

These Articles being ratified by the King of France; this strong Town of Dunkirk was delivered up into the hands of the English, by the King of France and Cardinal in Person, upon Tuesday, 25. 1658. The Spaniards at the same time quitting it, there marched out one thousand horse and foot; and seven hundred more, that had been wounded in the siege, followed after, as their strength gave them leave: The English having possession of the Town, found in it 140 great Guns, all Brass except eight, with Ammunition and Provision sufficient to maintain

His Actions in the Protectorship. 335
maintain it for a great while longer then it was kept.

The *Naisby* Frigate riding Admiral of the English Fleet in *Dunkirk* road, at that time when the Town was delivered up, Cardinal *Mazarin's* curiosity was whetted with reports of this stately Ship, insomuch that he desired to give her a visit: which General *Mountague* understanding, he invited the Cardinal and other French Lords aboard: they all most readily accepted of it, and returned many complements (which the French are never unprovided of) for the singular favour offered them. The time appointed being come, the Cardinal in his Pontificalibus, with a great Train of Noble-men, went in Boats, to see the Ship: at his launching forth, the English Frigates, in the bravest equipage they possibly could be put, saluted him with the roaring noise of great Guns, so continuing firing as he past by them. Approaching near the *Naisby*, the English General with many Officers and Gentlemen met him in their Boats, and conducted him aboard. His Eminency and the rest being landed in this floating Island, the General treated them

them with a noble Banquet, at which the Cardinal shewed so much abstemiousness, that of all the varieties provided for his entertainment, he tasted little, and onely drank of Rhenish Wine: afterwards General *Montague* shewed him all the parts and places of this excellent ship; which so highly pleased the Cardinal, that he protested, *Of all the sights he ever saw, none in his life pleased him like this.* With this great satisfaction he returned again to the Shore; and as at his coming, (for a welcome) so again at his departure, all the Men of War gave him their broadsides for a farewell.

The yeer gliding thus away in Victories and Triumphs, *Dunkirk* inforc'd to grow under the shade of the English Oake, and all prospering so well in *Flanders*, as if *Mars* himselfe had born the English Banners, caused endearing congratulations mutually to pass between the Protector and his Cozens of France. The Lord *Famconbridge* being made one of the blood by Matrimony, carryed the first complement to *Calice*, and there presented it to the King; which was quickly after returned back again by Monsieur

Mancini nephew to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and the Duke *de Crequi*: these arrived at *London* to present their respects; which having done, they returned with high satisfaction. These being departed, another far-less-welcom Messenger arrived at the English Court, even Death it self, who came to require of our great *Cromwel* what was his due by Nature. Him no Arguments can perswade, nor Policies evade: here Prayers and Tears prevail not, neither can money bribe him: Promises of Preferment signifie nothing, with him; for he lays all earthly Honour in the dust. His fatal Sickle cuts down all.

The first Symptomes of this great mans last sickness, appeared presently upon the death of his Daughter *Cleypole*; whose end is thought by many to have hastened his dissolution. About the beginning of *October*, his distemper discovered it self to be an Ague; which conspiring with a combination of other malignant distempers, so depressed his vitals, that he fell into many Trances, before his final exit; the intervals of which (wherein he gained some repose) he spent in conferences with *Dr. Owen*, *Dr. Goodwin*, and several other

338 *His Actions in the Protectorship.*
Divines, and with his Privie Counsellors
with these, about the Succession here; with
the other, about his own possession here-
after. To succeed him in the Protectorship
he appointed his eldest Son *Richard*.

In the evening before his departure,
he was heard to pray thus.

Lord, I am a miserable Crea-
ture, yet I am in Covenant with
thee through grace; and I may,
I will come unto thee for thy peo-
ple. Lord, thou hast made me
(though very unworthy) a mean
Instrument to do them some
good, and thee service; and
many of them had too high value
of me, though others would be
glad of my fall: but Lord, howso-
ever thou disposest of me, do good
for them. Give consistencie of
Judg-

His Death.

339

Judgment, one heart, and mutual
love unto them. Let the name
of Christ be glorious through-
out the world. Teach those who
look with much affection to thy
Instrument, to depend more upon
thee. Pardon such as delight
to trample upon the ashes of a
worm: for they are thy people too:
And Pardon the folly of this
short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ
his sake.

Afterwards his sickness violently in-
creasing upon him, it separated his soul
from his body on Friday the third of Sep-
tember 1658. near three of the clock in
the afternoon: death then became a
Conquerour, and overcame him, that be-
fore had vanquished the Scotch Armies
twice on the same day of the year.

The Corpse, presently after his ex-
piration, being embalmed, and wrapped up
in

in a Sheet of Lead, was on the twenty six of September, about ten at night, privately removed from *White-Hall* in a mourning Hearse, attended by his domestick Servants to *Somerset-House*, where it remained in private for some days, till all things were in readiness for publike view; which being accomplished, his Effigies was with great state & magnificence exposed openly; multitudes daily flocking to see the sight, which appeared in this order. The first room where the Spectators entered, was wholly hung with black; at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloath and Chair of State: In like manner, was the second and third rooms, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to pass through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Ceiling being of the same: here lay the Effigies, with a large Canopy of black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon it's back, was apparel'd in a rich Suit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, and furr'd with Ermines; upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of

of Purple-Velvet, laced and furr'd as the former, with rich strings and tassels of gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely gilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Globe; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines, suitable to the Robes: behind the head, was placed a rich Chair of Tissued Gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown, which lay high, that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, borne up by six stools covered with Cloath of gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat suit of Armes, and at the feet of the Effigies stood his Crest. This bed had fixt about it an Ascent of two steps; a little from thence stood eight silver Candlesticks about five foot high; with white wax Tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with Rails and Ballasters four-square, covered with Velvet; at each corner whereof there was erected an

upright Pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their Paws Streamers crowned. On both sides of the Bed were set up in sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Armes, with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Taffaty. About the Bed stood men in Mourning bare-headed; and without the Rails, others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this Shew had been seen for many weeks together, the Scène was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there set up, standing upon an Ascent under a Cloath of State; being vested as it was before, lying: onely now his Purple-Velvet Cap was changed for a Crown. In the same manner as formerly, were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this posture he continued until the 23 of November, which day was appointed to carry him with all solemnity to *Westminster-Abby*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great Majesty, in this manner following. All things being in readiness, the Waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his head, a Sword by his side,

a Globe and Scepter in his Hands) was taken down from his standing, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velvet, adorned with Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by six Horses in black Velvet. The Streets from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster-Abby*, were guarded by Souldiers in new Red Coats and black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapt in Cypres: which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

For the Proceſſion.

In the first place went a Marshal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horseback, to clear the way: after him followed the poor men of *Westminster* by two and two, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods: next to them, the servants of those Persons of quality that attended the Funeral. These were followed by the Protector's late domestick servants, with his Barge-men and Water-men. Then came the servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Forraign Ambassadors and publike Ministers. After

marched the poor Knights of *Windsor* in Gowns and Hoods : then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navie, and Exchequer : next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navie. Then the Commissioners for approbation of Preachers; behinde these followed all the Officers, Messengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privie-Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order followed

The Protectors Physicians.

The Head-Officers of the Army.

The Officers and Aldermen of *London*.

The Masters of Chancery, and his Highness Council at Law.

The Judges of Admiralty, Judges in *Wales*, and Master of Requests.

The Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of *London*.

The Persons Allied in Blood to the Protector, and the Members of the other House.

The publike Ministers of Forraign Princes.

The *Holland* Ambassador alone, having his

his Train held up by four Gentlemen.

Then the *Portugal* Ambassador, and the *French* Ambassador, in like manner.

The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

The Commissioners of the Treasury.

The Lords of his Highness Privie-Council.

All the Grandees were in close Mourning, the rest but in ordinary.

The whole Assembly passing along in divisions, were distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and Horses, whereof there were eleven in all, four being covered with black Cloath, and seven in Velvet. These passing in comely order, at length came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each side of which were six Banner-Rols (twelve in all) born by several Persons; And likewise several Pieces of the Protectors Armor carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went *Garret* Principal King of Armes, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bare-headed. Now came the chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horse of Honour, in very rich Trappings

Trappings imbroydered on Crimson-Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes of Feathers, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this brave Shew was brought up by the Protectors Guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horse.

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the West-Gate of the *Abbey-Church of Westminster*, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the East-end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a most Magnificent Structure built in the same Form as one before had been (on the like occasion) for King *James*, but much more Stately.

Thus much for the History of *O. Cromwell*: Now follows

His Character.

WE finde him in the beginning of *England's* Distractions, a most active Instrument to carry on the Cause for King and Parliament; this

this pretence holding water, and proving prosperous, he then became the main stickler for Liberty of Conscience without any limitation. This toleration became his master-piece in Politicks; for it procured him a party that stuck close in all Cases of necessity. These Libertines in general, being divided into several particular Fractions (as *Independents, Anabaptists, Socinians, Millenaries, Antisabbatarians, Ranters, Quakers, Seekers*, and God knows how many more) did all of them serve as steps to mount our Protector to the highest pitch of Preferment. After he had made use of all that could augment his Interest, then Humility condescended to look thorow his fingers at a Crown: but still waving the ayrie Title of *King*, he rather chose to accept the substantial Power of *Protector*. The *Primum mobile* of his desires herein being somewhat satisfied, then Parliaments were rallied, and by him as familiarly routed; wherein he shewed himself to be in *Policie* as far above the *Peoples Capacities*, as *Saul* in *Stature* was above the *Israelites*. In his governing of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, it is obvious to all, he studied *Men* more

more then *Books*; so that his turn was served in all Offices: parts advanced few; but he that would never question Commands, but as freely his Interests, was sufficiently qualified for preferment: Yet this he would do, when Embassadours were to be made, or Forces sent into Forraign parts, then futable spirits fitting the Employments, were always cal'd out to serve; as the Lord *Loekhart* for *France*, and *Reynolds* for *Flanders*: the first going in quality of Embassadour, the other as General.

In the choyce of his Privie-Council, much cunning might be seen: yet he never relyed so much on their Counsels, as to have it said, *England* was governed by a Council and *Protector*: for he made the world know, it was by *Protector* and Council.

In his rise, he never cut down one step before another was built to support him: this was seen in his levelling the *Long Parliament*, and present spring of the next *Little One*: then, they being dissolved, in comes an *Instrument* for his own Government. In all these Changes, he took time by the foretop, not suffering such an In-

terregnum as might encourage the Peoples minds to work him any mischief.

His Speeches were for the most part ambiguous, especially in publike meetings; wherein he rather left others to pick out the meaning, then did it himself. But when Offenders came under his own examination, then would he speak plain English, and declare his power unto them in a ranting stile.

Secrecie in carrying on Designs, is the principal part of a Prince: at this he was excellent, both in Military and Civil Affairs; insomuch that few actions ever miscarried under his hands, except that grand one of *Sancta Domingo*.

They that go about to diminish his Valour, do little less then rob him of his right: for in the Camp his Armor deprest fear, and made him stand in defiance of all Guns under the Demie-Cannon; but at Court, his courage was somewhat quailed with a new light sprung up, called, *Killing no Murther*.

The Pride and Ambition which some say he was guilty of, may be easily excused as an original sin inherent in nature: and we all know, *That which is born in the bone*

bone, will never out of the flesh.

To conclude, he carryed his Design clear, and hit the mark he aim'd at, notwithstanding the Parliament, *Triplow* Heath and *Dunbars* Engagements: which shews, that *Policy* and *Piety* may both lie in a bed, and yet not touch one another. But now we mention *Pietie*,

His Religion must not pass my Pen; in this he was zealous, not altogether like the Pharisee, that prayed in the Temple; but really often would he mourn in secret, and many times did his eyes in publike distil tears at the Nations stubbornness.

To take him in the whole, he was a Man better fitted to make a Prince of, then the People was to receive him: this we see sufficiently in the management of the Government to his Death. But afterwards, the sudden disaster which beset his Posterity was so admirable, that it cannot be imputed to any thing else but

Digitus Dei.

A

**A Catalogue of Honours
conferr'd on several Persons,
by Oliver Cromwel, Lord
Protector, in the time of
his Government.**

His Privie Council.

Henry Lawrence Lord President.

Lient. Gen. Fleetwood.

Major Gen. Lambert.

Philip Lord Lisle.

Nathaniel Fiennes Commissioner of the
Great Seal.

John Desbrow.

Edward Mountague.

Sir Gilbert Pickering.

Sir Charls Woolfley.

Col. William Sydenham.

Edmund Earl of Mulgrave.

Walter Strickland, Esquire.

Philip Skippon, Major Gen.

Col. Philip Jones.

Richard Major, Esquire.

Francis Rouse, Esquire.

John Tharloe, Secretary of State.

The

*The Members of the other House,
alias House of Lords.*

1. **L**ord Richard Crommel.
2. **L**ord Henry Crommel Deputy of Ireland.
3. Nathaniel Fiennes } Commissioners of
4. John Lisle. } the Great Seal.
5. Henry Lawrence, President of the Privie Council.
6. Charls Fleetwood, Lieut. Gen. of the Armie.
7. Robert Earl of Warwick.
8. Edmund Earl of Mulgrave.
9. Edward Earl of Manchester.
10. William Lord Viscount Say and Seal.
11. Philip Lord Viscount Lisle.
12. Charls Lord Viscount Howard.
13. Philip Lord Wharton.
14. Thomas Lord Faulconbridge.
15. George Lord Evers.
16. John Cleypole, Esquire.
17. John Desbrow } Generals at
18. Edward Montague. } Sea.
19. Bulstrode Whitlock } Commissioners of
20. William Sydenham. } the Treasury.
21. Sir Charls Wolfley.

22. Sir

22. Sir Gilbert Pickering.
23. Walter Strickland, Esq.
24. Philip Skippon, Esq.
25. Francis Rous, Esq.
26. John Jones, Esquire.
27. Sir William Strickland.
28. John Fiennes, Esquire.
29. Sir Francis Russel.
30. Sir Thomas Honymood.
31. Sir Arthur Haslerigge.
32. Sir John Hobart.
33. Sir Richard Onslow.
34. Sir Gilbert Gerrard.
35. Sir William Roberts.
36. John Glyn. } Chief Justices of
37. Oliver St-John. } both Benches.
38. William Pierrepoint, Esquire.
39. John Crew, Esquire.
40. Alexander Popham, Esq.
41. Philip Jones, Esq.
42. Sir Christopher Pack.
43. Sir Robert Tichborn.
44. Edward Whalley, Com. Gen.
45. Sir John Barkstead, Lieut. of the Tower.
46. Sir Tho. Pride.
47. Sir George Fleetwood.
48. Sir John Huson.
49. Richard Ingoldsby, Esq.

A

50. James

354 Honours conferr'd by him.

50. James Berry, Esquire.
51. William Goff, Esq.
52. Thomas Cooper, Esq.
53. Edmund Thomas, Esq.
54. George Monke, Gen. in Scotland.
55. David Earl of Cassils.
56. Sir William Lockhart.
57. Archibald Johnson of Wareston.
58. William Steel Chancellor of Ireland.
59. Roger Lord Broghil.
60. Sir Matthew Tomlinson.
61. William Lenthal Master of the Rolls.
62. Richard Hampden, Esq.

Commissioners of the Great Seal,
and their Officers.

Nathaniel Fiennes.
John Lisle.
William Lenthal Master of the Rolls.

Officers attending.

Henry Middleton Serjeant at Arms.
Mr. Brown.
Mr. Dove.

Judges

Honours conferr'd by him. 355

Judges of both Benches.

John Glyn, Lord Chief Justice.
Peter Warburton } Justices of the
Richard Nudigate. } upper Bench.
Oliver St-John Lord Chief Justice, and
Edward Atkins } Justices of the Com-
Matthew Hale } mon Bench.
Hugh Windham. }

His Barons of the Exchequer.

Robert Nicholas.
John Parker, and
Roger Hill.
Serjeant at Law.
Erasmus Earl,
Attorney General.
Edmund Prideaux,
Sollicitor.
William Ellis.

Serjeants at Law called by him
to the Barre.

Richard Pepes, 25 January 1653.
Thomas Fletcher, 25 January 1653.
Matthew Hale, 25 January 1653.
A a 2 Wil-

356 Honours conferr'd by him.

William Steel,	9 February 1653.
John Maynard,	9 February 1653.
Richard Nudigate,	9 February 1653.
Thomas Twisden,	9 February 1653.
Hugh Windham,	9 February 1653.
Unton Crook,	21 of June 1654.
John Parker,	21 of June 1654.
Roger Hill,	28 of June 1655.
William Shepard,	25 October 1656.
John Fountain,	27 November 1656.
Evan Scitbe.	

Viscounts.

Charls Howard of Glisland in Cumberland, created Baron Glisland, and Lord Viscount Howard of Morpeth, the 20th of July 1657.

Baronets.

John Read Esquire, of Bocker-Hall in Hertfordshire, created Baronet the 25 of June 1656.
John Cleypole Esquire, created Baronet the 16th of July 1657.
Thomas Chamberlayn of Wickham Esquire, made

Honours conferr'd by him. 357

made a Baronet the 6th of October 1657.
Thomas Beaumont of Staughton-Grange in Leicestershire, Esq; created March 5. 1657.
John Twisleton Esq; of Horsemans-Place in Daisford in the County of Kent, created Baronet of the same, March 24. 1657.
Henry Ingoldsby Esq; created 31 of March 1658.
Henry Wright of Dagenhams in Essex, Esq; created Baronet, March 31. 1658.
Edmond Dunch Esquire of East-Wittenham in Berkshire, created Baron of the same place, April 26. 1658.
Griffith Williams Esq; of Carnarvon, made a Baronet the 28 of May 1658.

Knights, when and where made.

Sir Thomas Viner, Lord Mayor of London, at Grocers-Hall, Feb. 8. 1653.
Sir John Copleston, at White-Hall, June 1. 1655.
Sir John Reynolds, at White-Hall, June 11. 1655.

Sir

358 Honours conferr'd by him.

Sir Christopher Pack, Lord Mayor of London, at White-Hall, Septemb. 20. 1655.

Sir Thomas Pride, at White-Hall, Jan. 17. 1655.

Sir John Barkstead, at White-Hall, Jan. 19. 1655.

Sir Richard Combe, at White-Hall, Aug. 1656.

Sir John Dethick, Lord Mayor of London, at White-Hall, Sept. 15. 1656.

Sir George Fleetwood of Bucks.

Sir William Lockhart, at White-Hall, December 10.

Sir James Calthrop of Suffolk.

Sir Robert Tichborn, Lord Mayor of London, and Sir Lislebone Long, Recorder, December 15.

Sir James Whitlock at White-Hall, January 6.

Sir Thomas Dickefon of York, March 3. 1656.

Sir Richard Stainer, at White-Hall, June 11. 1657.

Sir John Cleypole Baronet, at White-Hall, July 16. 1657.

Sir William Wheeler, at Hampton-Court, Aug. 26. 1657.

Sir

Honours conferr'd by him. 459

Sir Edward Ward of Norfolk, at White-Hall, Novemb. 2.

Sir Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London, at White-Hall, Novemb. 14.

Sir Thomas Foot, Alderman, }
Sir Thomas Atkin, Alderman, } Decemb. 5.
Sir John Hufon, Colonel. }

Sir James Drax, at White-Hall, Jan. 6.

Sir Henry Pickering, } White-Hall,

Sir Philip Twisleton. } Feb. 1.

Sir John Lenthal, at White-Hall, March 9.

Sir John Ireton, Alderman of London.

Sir Henry Jones, at Hampton-Court, July 17. 1658.

Sic transit Gloria mundi.

FINIS.

27. The first of the year
28. The second of the year
29. The third of the year
30. The fourth of the year
31. The fifth of the year
32. The sixth of the year
33. The seventh of the year
34. The eighth of the year
35. The ninth of the year
36. The tenth of the year
37. The eleventh of the year
38. The twelfth of the year
39. The thirteenth of the year
40. The fourteenth of the year
41. The fifteenth of the year
42. The sixteenth of the year
43. The seventeenth of the year
44. The eighteenth of the year
45. The nineteenth of the year
46. The twentieth of the year
47. The twenty-first of the year
48. The twenty-second of the year
49. The twenty-third of the year
50. The twenty-fourth of the year
51. The twenty-fifth of the year
52. The twenty-sixth of the year
53. The twenty-seventh of the year
54. The twenty-eighth of the year
55. The twenty-ninth of the year
56. The thirtieth of the year
57. The thirty-first of the year
58. The thirty-second of the year
59. The thirty-third of the year
60. The thirty-fourth of the year
61. The thirty-fifth of the year
62. The thirty-sixth of the year
63. The thirty-seventh of the year
64. The thirty-eighth of the year
65. The thirty-ninth of the year
66. The fortieth of the year
67. The forty-first of the year
68. The forty-second of the year
69. The forty-third of the year
70. The forty-fourth of the year
71. The forty-fifth of the year
72. The forty-sixth of the year
73. The forty-seventh of the year
74. The forty-eighth of the year
75. The forty-ninth of the year
76. The fiftieth of the year
77. The fifty-first of the year
78. The fifty-second of the year
79. The fifty-third of the year
80. The fifty-fourth of the year
81. The fifty-fifth of the year
82. The fifty-sixth of the year
83. The fifty-seventh of the year
84. The fifty-eighth of the year
85. The fifty-ninth of the year
86. The sixtieth of the year
87. The sixty-first of the year
88. The sixty-second of the year
89. The sixty-third of the year
90. The sixty-fourth of the year
91. The sixty-fifth of the year
92. The sixty-sixth of the year
93. The sixty-seventh of the year
94. The sixty-eighth of the year
95. The sixty-ninth of the year
96. The seventieth of the year
97. The seventy-first of the year
98. The seventy-second of the year
99. The seventy-third of the year
100. The seventy-fourth of the year
101. The seventy-fifth of the year
102. The seventy-sixth of the year
103. The seventy-seventh of the year
104. The seventy-eighth of the year
105. The seventy-ninth of the year
106. The eightieth of the year
107. The eighty-first of the year
108. The eighty-second of the year
109. The eighty-third of the year
110. The eighty-fourth of the year
111. The eighty-fifth of the year
112. The eighty-sixth of the year
113. The eighty-seventh of the year
114. The eighty-eighth of the year
115. The eighty-ninth of the year
116. The ninetieth of the year
117. The ninety-first of the year
118. The ninety-second of the year
119. The ninety-third of the year
120. The ninety-fourth of the year
121. The ninety-fifth of the year
122. The ninety-sixth of the year
123. The ninety-seventh of the year
124. The ninety-eighth of the year
125. The ninety-ninth of the year
126. The hundredth of the year

27. The first of the year

FINIS









